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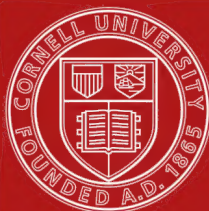
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SPEECH

OF

Senator Chauncey M. Depew

AT THE

Taft and Hughes Meeting
in Brooklyn

Monday Night. October 26th, 1908

Speech of Senator Chauncey M. Depew at the Taft and Hughes Meeting in Brooklyn, Monday Night, October 26th, 1908

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

When Darwin first published his theory of evolution it created universal consternation. Scientists disputed its accuracy and theologians thought it an insidiously dangerous attack upon the creation of Adam and Eve and the experiences of the Garden of Eden. But in time the doubt of the scientists and the fears of the theologians have been dissipated and evolution is universally recognized as one of the great discoveries of the age. This theory of progress and growth has no better illustration than in the relations of the statesmanship of the Republican party to the history of the expansion, development and power of our country. We were defeated in 1856 and successful in 1860 upon a basis so broad to us now that it is impossible for the present generation to conceive how the country could have been divided on it. That was the extension of slavery into that vast region out of which have grown half a dozen great and prosperous states. Mr. Lincoln had declared in the convass that no country could exist half slave and half free, and Mr. Seward, the National Republican leader, had appealed to a higher law than the Constitution and congressional enactments. All this meant practically that we were not really a nation. Europe did not fear us, nor did the great powers of the world take us into consideration in their territorial and commercial aggrandizement. The first necessity for the future of the American people was to have a country. Under the conditions then existing industrial advance was checked by fratricidal strife. Mr. Lincoln represented the national idea, and it won at the expense of a half million of lives and a million disabled, but it was worth the sacrifice. Mr.

Lincoln evolved himself, and carried the country and his party with him, to the idea that there could be no nation unless slavery was destroyed, and he signed the Proclamation of Emancipation. With the outcome of the Spanish War, where the blue and the gray fought side by side under the old flag; with the acquisition of the Philippines, Hawaii and Cuba under McKinley, which made us a factor to be reckoned with in the Pacific Ocean and the Orient; with the devolution of government upon the natives in the Philippines, the pacification of Cuba, the settlement of the Venezuelan and Dominican controversies and troubles with foreign nations and the peace between Russia and Japan, brought about by Roosevelt, the United States as a nation became one of the great powers of the world. So much for the evolution of our nationality.

It was clear to the Republican statesmen that in creating a nation by placing the Union upon impregnable foundations they must provide policies to make the people prosperous. Our resources must be developed, our manufactures encouraged, cheap transportation provided for the settlement of our territories and the different sections industrially welded together by internal commerce and exchanges. We were importing from Europe a large proportion of the necessities of life and most of the luxuries. The necessity was to gain and to hold the home market. This created a tariff policy upon the lines of protection for American industries first and revenue after. Its design was to enable American workmen at higher wages to compete with European workmen with low wages. The founders of the new Republic recognized that a nation resting upon the people and its government existing by universal suffrage was impossible unless constituencies could live under conditions much more favorable than those which prevailed on the other side of the Atlantic. The first feature of the tariff bill of 1891 was to encourage capital to go into new enterprises and to stimulate industries in every department of manufacture. The second feature was to put the American workingman in a position to earn wages several times greater than received by his competitors in other lands. Under this Republican

policy our industries advanced by leaps and bounds until checked in 1893 by the Wilson-Gorman Democratic Tariff Bill. But progress was resumed after the Dingley Tariff Bill passed in 1897. Nineteen hundred and seven witnessed a marvel in industrial evolution, in forty years our country having advanced from the lowest to the first place in manufacture, in agriculture and in mining and also in that barometer of the industrial activity and prosperity of nations, the production of iron and steel.

But these founders of the new Republic also recognized that trade, commerce and employment could not be regular and permanent without sound finance. The irredeemable greenback was a device to carry on successfully the Civil War. It became almost a fetich, and at one time there was nearly as much regard for it as there was for the national Flag. It required a terrific struggle for sound economic principles to triumph over a sentiment so closely allied to patriotism. But fiat money and an irredeemable currency was defeated in 1873 under the leadership of John Sherman; the resumption of specie payments was brought about in 1879, and in 1896 the people, rudely awakened by what they had suffered and the perils which were before them from the free-silver craze, voted for the gold standard and the placing of the United States in accord with the highly developed nations of the world under the leadership of William McKinley.

In this brief retrospect we have the birth of a new nation and its evolution under the master minds of the Republican party to a position of prosperity within its borders and peace without, of power among nations and of industrial and financial standing which makes us to-day foremost among nations.

The Republican party is now on trial. It cannot rely upon these mighty achievements—national, industrial and financial—for success. Each administration has had its problems, and the one which is going out must satisfy voters that it should be succeeded by an administration in harmony with its achievements and its policies. In other words, Theodore Roosevelt and his administration are now to be judged. In the long line of Republican administrations commencing with Lincoln none has been more fruit-

ful in measures for the protection and advancement of the people and in power and glory for the United States. As the public lands are exhausted for the homesteader the Republican administration has inaugurated a system for the reclamation of the deserts. Already a territory two-thirds as large as the State of New York has been won from the sage brush and the rattlesnake and given to the American farmer under a policy by which the money for the lands sold goes back into the reclamation service. This great rescue from worthlessness to productiveness has not cost the United States a dollar. It is an old proverb that the man who makes two blades of grass to grow where only one did before is a benefactor of his time. But the Republican party in bringing about by its policies this marvelous creation of national wealth and individual prosperity easily occupies the front rank among political organizations of any country. We have still arid lands six times greater than the State of New York, most of which under this beneficent system will be reclaimed from the wilderness and made into happy homes. No class or condition has reaped more benefit during the seven years of the Roosevelt administration than the farmer. Recognizing that individual resources are insufficient to meet the recurring necessities and perils of agriculture, the question has been wisely taken up by the Government. With the greatest scientific skill it has successfully fought the San Jose scale which was ruining the orchards; it is conquering the boll weevil which threatened to destroy the cotton; it has taught the people how to cheaply turn almost impassable highways into good roads, thereby doubling the value of the farms, and by scientific testing of the quality of soils it has brought abandoned farms into profitable production and enormously increased the value of agricultural products. Under a system wisely inaugurated, by rural free delivery the isolation of the farmer has been relieved. In ten years these routes have been extended forty thousand miles, reaching sixteen millions of people. Rural communities are no longer bound by the narrow limits of the neighborhood. They are in daily touch with the markets of this and other countries, with

the daily happenings of the world and with the politics and the policies of statesmen and politicians. Secretary Wilson says that the new wealth from lands this year will reach the prodigious amount of eight billions of dollars.

Labor has gained more in these seven years than in any preceding generation. The Eight Hour Law which had become a dead letter on Government contract work has been vigorously enforced. Prison labor which is in competition with free labor has been prohibited. Chinese Coolie immigration has been suppressed. Liberal laws have been enacted for the protection of seamen. Safety appliances on railroads have been made compulsory. Formerly when Government employees were injured or killed there was no redress for them or their families, but this year Congress passed a government liability law. One of the most perfect of child-labor laws has been enacted for the District of Columbia. A bill freeing employees engaged in interstate commerce from the rigid requirements of the common law, under which it was almost impossible to recover damages, became a law three years ago. The supreme court declared it unconstitutional, and this last session Congress re-enacted it so framed as to meet the objections of the court, but embodying all its beneficent provisions for workingmen. Democrats have resolved and adopted platforms on these vital subjects, but when in power, with a President and a large majority in both houses of Congress during Cleveland's administration, crystallized none of them into law.

The balance of trade in our favor during this administration reaches now the sum of nearly two thousand millions of dollars. It makes other nations our debtors and insures permanency to our finances and solvency to our industrial life. Figures are always dry, but these hundreds of millions of the balance of trade in our favor, the thirteen billions of deposits in our banks, of which three and a half billions are in our savings banks, which have nearly nine millions of depositors, tell beyond words of general prosperity and individual thrift and happiness. They are not accidents, but the result of wise and efficient government.

The development of our resources and acceleration of our

productions from the election of McKinley in 1896 to 1907 created an era of speculation and overtrading. It also caused many conditions which required correction. Mr. Bryan says we had a Democratic panic and we have also had a Republican panic. But the Republican panic lasted three months and the Democratic panic lasted forty-eight months. The Democratic panic came in with the Democratic administration and its effects lasted for a year after that administration went out of power. The Republican panic began in October and was over on the first of January. The Democratic panic kept three millions of men out of employment for three years, established soup houses everywhere and carried Coxey's Army to Washington. The panic of 1907 did not last long enough to exhaust the savings in the savings banks of those who had been thrifty and frugal. Now the savings banks report that they have received back again from reviving business all that they lost in necessary withdrawals during the brief industrial panic. But the Roosevelt administration has met successfully the dangers threatened by the creation of trusts and great corporations because of phenomenal prosperity. The problem was how to minimize these perils without stopping progress, how to prevent disaster without checking development, how to prevent illegitimate employment of capital without so frightening investors that capital and labor would both be injured. The manner in which the Roosevelt administration has handled these problems will be an era in the history of American industry, and it is a cause for congratulation that these policies will be completed by a candidate so sound, so judicial, so able and so experienced as William H. Taft.

The policies advocated by Taft and those advocated by Bryan are regulation on the one hand and ruin on the other. I have always believed that the safety of both the stockholders and bondholders of the railroads lay in the closest governmental supervision. I think I can fairly claim credit for the creation of the first railroad commission in the State of New York. Railroad commissions with sufficient power place in the hands of a judicial body these acute railway problems for solution. We must look at the matter without prejudice because the prosperity of the whole coun-

try is involved in the manner in which the railway problem is adjusted. We must remember that one million, six hundred and seventy-five thousand voters of the United States are on the pay-rolls of the railroads and one billion, seventy-five millions a year is paid them in wages. We must remember that the wages and employment of two millions more, who are engaged in digging the coal, cutting the ties and manufacturing the rails, locomotives and other supplies, and the merchants who sell the necessities of life to the families of these railway men, are also dependent upon railway prosperity. Railway commissions, whether state or national, can hear the complaints of the shippers and localities, can hear the defense of the railways, and then, appointed by the people and acting for the people, and the whole people, can justly decide.

I will not now discuss the question of Government ownership of railroads and the far-reaching effects of such a policy upon our civil service and the efficiency of our transportation system. While Mr. Bryan says that matter can wait awhile, it is well known that he never gives up a pet theory, but keeps it in reserve to try as soon as possible. It is a question of vital importance to the hundred thousand railway employees in this State. Under the rules controlling Government employees, they are prohibited from having unions to raise wages or from appealing to Congress for that purpose under pain of instant dismissal. Undoubtedly under Government ownership the different unions of railway men, like the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, of Locomotive Firemen, of Conductors, of Trainmen and of Switchmen, which are the best of labor organizations, would be instantly dissolved. The pay, in countries where Government ownership exists, to railway employees in every grade is about one-third what it is in the United States. A strike of Government employees is a crime, but lawful under corporation ownership by a decision rendered by Judge Taft. One other view: The taxes and assessments paid by the railroads in the State of New York amount annually to \$5,500,000. In the towns through which the railways run the railways are always the largest taxpayers. This amount locally relieves to a large extent the taxes of the farmers and builds the highways and school

houses. The Government pays no taxes upon its property, and therefore what is now paid by the railroads in the different villages and cities would, under Government ownership, be assessed upon the houses and lands of the people.

One of the most beneficent acts of legislation were railway bills prohibiting rebates and discriminations. I do not believe that there is a railway manager in the country who is not thankful to have rebates and discriminations prohibited.

Under President Harrison the Sherman Anti-Trust Bill was passed for the purpose of curbing corporations and the prevention of monopolies. It was not in operation during Cleveland's administration. Since the pathway for its operation was cleared by a brilliant decision in the Circuit Court of Appeals by Judge Taft it has been an efficient weapon for the curbing of trusts and the prevention of monopolies, and was so used by McKinley and Roosevelt.

The panic came when the country was never so prosperous, business never so good, employment never so universal and wages never so high. It was due to lack of confidence and sudden distrust. The failure of a great trust company in New York precipitated it. It was evident to everybody that unless the panic was stopped immediately in New York it would spread over the country and close most of the banks, national, state and savings, in the land, and stop a majority of the industries and throw multitudes out of employment. The Government had over two hundred millions in the Treasury which could be used. Now what was the Bryan and Democratic proposition? It was to distribute this money in the banks all over the country when most of the country banks had nearly twice the reserves required for solvency. But Roosevelt and Cortelyou, regardless of this clamor, put the money where the trouble was and saved the situation and the country. The Democratic idea was when there is a fire to order the fire department to distribute the water in the wards and districts all over town, giving to the flames only the proportion belonging to that section. Under such procedure the water would be widely distributed and so would the fire.

Mr. Bryan makes it clear to us what he proposes to carry out if elected. First, and most important, he will destroy the tariff and have a tariff for revenue only. We had the experience of this threat and its partial fulfilment in the Cleveland administration. The United States is the greatest market in the world. Our internal commerce is larger than that of all the rest of the world combined. The commerce of the world, exclusive of the United States, is in value \$20,000,000,000, while the internal commerce of the United States is \$27,000,000,000. A revenue tariff would make the United States the dumping ground of Europe and Japan. European nations would capture our market on the Atlantic seaboard, but the greatest danger would be from Japan. The Japanese have our skill, they have our machinery, they have the cheapest of labor, they have driven our merchant marine off the Pacific Ocean, and with the Japanese artisans working for twenty cents a day and living on rice and the subsidized merchant marine of Japan carrying their productions across the Pacific they could undersell us, especially on the Pacific. The repeal of the tariff would bring starvation to the doors of the artisans and mechanics of the United States. Mr. Bryan's next proposition is whenever a corporation has reached a point where it produces one-half the products in its line it shall immediately stop until the rest of the country catches up. He also proposes that when any manufacturing company reaches a point where its output consists of twenty-five per cent of that article which is sold in this country it shall take out a federal license or shut up shop.

Thomas Jefferson furnished the Democratic party and the country with a doctrine which was the cornerstone of the Democratic faith. Mr. Bryan claims to be the disciple of Jefferson and the heir of his policies. The Jefferson declaration was "that government is best which governs least." We have in this country two hundred and seventeen thousand manufactories. The capital interested is twelve billions, seven hundred millions of dollars. The number of people employed are in round numbers six millions. The wages and salaries paid are in round numbers three billions of dollars. The product is fifteen billions a year. These

manufactories are the industries and sources for living of thousands of places scattered all over the United States. They are in competition with each other and with foreign concerns in the same line who in spite of the tariff are able to a certain extent to invade our markets. The Democratic platform and Mr. Bryan complain of the increase of officials under the Roosevelt administration, but the inspectors, accountants and bookkeepers necessary to find out when each of these multitudinous industries has reached twenty-five per cent of its product and must take out a license, and when in bad times it has fallen below twenty-five per cent and can drop the license, would surpass a plague of locusts. When the skill, enterprise and inventive genius of a manufacturer have given him largely the control of the market in his particular line without any monopolistic efforts other than skill, economy, industry and thrift, that manufacturer under this novel process must lay upon his oars until his patent expires or his trade-marks become worthless.

A friend of mine is a large manufacturer, producing many useful articles, among others buckles. Every human being in the United States uses buckles, and it is an important attachment to every harness and many kinds of machinery. A genius recently invented a buckle which can be manufactured and sold at one-third the price of buckles made in the old way, giving the company of my friend a monopoly for this article, while the public is getting it at much lower prices than ever before. Under Mr. Bryan's proposition, the buckle inspectors in Portland, Maine, Portland, Oregon, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, San Francisco and New Orleans, and in every place where tailors, harness makers, dressmakers and householders are buying buckles, will be counting the output of this factory as compared with others to report in tabulated statements to the great ratio bureau at Washington. Then will come to the buckle manufacturer a notice that he must take out a license and subject his books to monthly examination and inspection, so that the exact minute when his output of buckles reaches fifty per cent of the whole buckle sale of the country he must shut down part of his machinery and discharge

a proportionate number of his men. But as he is working under a patent which no one else can use, he will have to wait seventeen years until his patent expires before his product can comply with the fifty per cent rule, and in the meantime the public will buy dear buckles. We are the keenest and shrewdest traders and the most inventive manufacturers in the world, and the people of the United States will never permit their energies and their industries to be buckled down by this policy. That strap won't work.

But we will leave the ratio proposition for the broader and more comprehensive statement of the Democratic candidate that "The people shall rule." We are every day receiving many proofs of the rule of the people. The primary election in New Jersey recently with its varied and unexpected results showed conclusively that the people ruled. The greatest majority ever given to a President was when seven million, six hundred and twenty-three thousand, four hundred and eighty-six voted for Mr. Roosevelt and five million, seventy-seven thousand, nine hundred and seventy-one voted for Judge Parker. This proved conclusively that the people ruled. In our State two years ago the people decided to elect a Republican Governor and all the rest of the State officers Democratic. They evidently wanted to try the experiment of one party watching the other in office. It was their judgment as exhibited by their votes that in this matter of watchfulness for the public good a Republican as Governor, in the person of Governor Hughes, was quite equal to a Democratic Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary of State, Attorney-General, Comptroller, State Treasurer and State Engineer and Surveyor. In another form it was the old idea of the parity of values between gold and silver, only in this instance it was six to one. On election night in 1900 as the incoming returns indicated that Roosevelt's majority over Bryan was about a million a devoted admirer of Mr. Bryan telegraphed him: "The people are in a minority. God save our country."

When I was a student one of my tasks was to translate Cæsar's commentaries. After sixty years all that I remember of them is that the great conqueror wrote, "Gaul is divided into

three parts." Certainly the gall of Mr. Bryan is both great and divided into three parts when he claims that the people are deprived of self-government because the Constitution is not amended so as to elect Senators by the popular vote, because of the rules of the House of Representatives, and because of the corrupt use of money in elections. The people elect the legislators who elect the Senators, and they instruct the legislature whom they prefer should be the representative of the State in the upper house at Washington. But on the question of the amendment to the Constitution a little history will demonstrate Democratic inconsistency on this subject. The last time a proposed amendment to the Constitution for the election of United States Senators by the people of the several States, having passed the House of Representatives, came to the Senate it was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, of which I am a member. An amendment to the constitution requires the two-thirds vote of both houses. The Republicans have not two-thirds and therefore an amendment must receive Democratic votes. While it was under consideration in the Committee on Privileges and Elections I prepared and offered an amendment to the amendment, the effect of which was that in the election of United States Senators by the people the people entitled to vote under the Constitution of the United States should be permitted to vote and have their vote counted. This of course meant that in the thirteen southern States where the negro voter is disfranchised, in the election of a United States Senator, Congress would pass laws so that he as well as all other citizens should cast his vote and have it counted as cast. This amendment of mine was adopted in the committee. The Republicans all voted for it and the Democratic Senators all voted against it. Then the Democratic Senators announced that they would oppose the amendment to the Constitution in that form, both in the Senate and in the House of Representatives, and the late venerable Senator Pettus remarked, "Before this amendment of the Senator of New York every white man in the State of Alabama was in favor of this proposition and now every white man in the State of Alabama is opposed to it." That opposition of the Demo-

cratic Senators killed the amendment to the Constitution, and they will always kill it so long as it includes the right of every citizen under the Constitution of the United States in every State in the Union to cast his ballot for United States Senator.

The claim that the corrupt use of money in elections deprives the people of their power to rule is a monstrous proposition. There is no more useful work in the way of education of the citizens, and especially of the new citizen or the young citizen who casts his first vote, than the literature which is distributed by the two parties and the speeches which are made in every locality. But literature costs enormously. Its distribution among fifteen millions of voters takes an immense amount of money, and the necessary expense of an army of speakers, of the hiring of halls and other paraphernalia is very great. The use of money corruptly means that the voters are bribed, and every citizen knows that this is a slander upon the voter.

The third place, according to Mr. Bryan, where the people do not rule is in the House of Representatives. The people want Congress to enact laws to meet the constantly recurring necessities of a great and growing country. They want those measures which are crystallized into the statutes to be thoroughly studied, considered and debated. With three hundred and ninety-one members of the House of Representatives and an average of twenty-five thousand bills introduced every season, if there were no rules necessary legislation would be lost and foolish legislation often passed. The House of Representatives up to the time of the great speaker Thomas B. Reed was in the hands of the minority. They could stop all legislation until the majority conceded to them what they wanted, and until then they would not permit the majority to have what they deemed wise. Our government is necessarily a government by majorities, otherwise it would be anarchy. The clearest refutation of this charge of the Democratic candidate is that during the period when he was a member of Congress the House was Democratic, the Speaker was a Democrat, Mr. Bryan was a member of the majority and they adopted almost verbatim the rules of Czar Reed.

The President of the United States has become the most powerful ruler in the world. In him is concentrated for the time being in large measure the power of the people. We have witnessed as our country has grown the enormous increase of executive authority and influence. Mr. Bryan recognizes this in those confident assertions made in recent speeches that he can carry the measures which he desires through both houses of Congress because of the public sentiment which he can place behind them by virtue of his office. The ability, experience and characteristics of the candidates are more important for the welfare of the country than party platforms or professions. Happily both candidates have lived in the light and we know all about them. Mr. Bryan's only experience in public life was as a member of the Ways and Means Committee in the House of Representatives, where he did his part in framing the Wilson-Gorman tariff measure. That bill proved to be the most disastrous piece of legislation in the history of our country. Since then Mr. Bryan has been the most versatile creator of theories of government and the greatest lightning-change artist in the promotion of political expedients known to our public life. He says that he is bound as much by the omissions of the Democratic platform as by its declarations. We must understand, therefore, that the omissions of the Democratic platform by which he considers himself bound are the policies which from time to time in the last twelve years he has advanced and advocated. Happily the experience of the country has taught us what would have happened if his policies had been adopted in 1896, 1900 or 1904.

We all cheerfully recognize Mr. Bryan's brilliant gifts as an orator and the charm of his personality. I heard him in a political speech when President Roosevelt was present claim the authorship of Roosevelt's policies and that he was their father. At the opening of the present campaign he took the position that he was the heir of Roosevelt's policies, and now in his recent tour through our State he says they are doing nothing anyhow. I think he may make good the title to inventor of the phrase "Paramount Issue." In every campaign he has declared that one issue presented was a paramount issue. In 1896 it was the unlimited coin-

age of silver at the ratio to gold of sixteen to one. In the light of subsequent events we know if that suggestion had been embodied into law we would have been plunged into national and individual bankruptcy. But has he abandoned that idea? No. He apparently entertains the same views he did then, but explains that the necessity is postponed because of the large and unexpected production of gold. In other words, if there should be a check in the gold production of the world, the ratio of sixteen to one would become a paramount issue again. In 1900 the paramount issue was imperialism, and the liberties of the Filipinos were to be crushed because of McKinley's lust for power, and the Fourth of July was to be only a memory. But under the brilliant administration of Governor Taft the Philippines advanced in self-government more in four years than the people of India have in half a century, and the Fourth of July is not only the most glorious day under the American flag within the confines of the United States, but is hailed with equal enthusiasm by the Filipinos.

In 1904 Mr. Bryan succeeded in creating as a paramount issue the imminent and pressing danger of militarism and executive tyranny to the world's peace and the liberties and the prosperity of the country. Instead of this terrible prophecy coming true the Republican administration has accomplished more for peace than all other instrumentalities in the world. The historic journey of Secretary of State Root to and among the South American republics did more to bring them into amicable relations with each other and to establish a friendly feeling toward the United States than anything else which has ever occurred. The Central American republics were disgracing the name with their revolutions and fratricidal warfare, but the agreement brought about with Mexico to compel them to arbitrate their differences has created a new era of law and established government in those republics. During the war between Russia and Japan, the bloodiest of this generation, which threatened to involve the world, the masterful mind and signal diplomacy of Roosevelt concluded a peace between them with honor to both.

The military policy of the administration has been to make

the army efficient without any substantial increase and to enlarge the navy. The cruise of the battleships has been a voyage of peace, compelling peace by display of power. The superb success of this fleet around the globe forced the Democratic convention of 1908 to run away from its fear of militarism of 1904 and advocate a still larger navy.

In 1906 Mr. Bryan went abroad. He was received everywhere by the ambassadors and ministers of the United States very properly as one of our most distinguished citizens. He came in familiar touch with emperors, kings and queens and the statesmen and public men of European nations and of the East. His charm of manner and his eloquence left a good impression among them. His return marked the flood of his career. "There is a tide in the affairs of men which taken at its flood leads on to fortune." Republican fortunes were rather at an ebb because of one of those waves of sentiment for a change in government without any other reason than the desire for a change. All who had ever voted for him were waiting to give him the warmest possible welcome, and all who had voted against him to extend a cordial greeting. The lesson of the hour was transparently political silence, but he could not escape from the old fascination of new policies and fresh schemes. He said in effect to an expectant people, who were waiting to hear his fresh impressions of other lands, civilizations and governments, "I have discovered at last a cure for all our ills and a panacea for all our woes. It is not free silver at sixteen to one, it is not fighting imperialism or executive tyranny, but it is government ownership of the railroads of the country." That one idea striking against the hard sense of the American people dissipated in a moment the most brilliant political opportunity of the times.

But the great necromancer eternally finds new schemes and discovers new tricks. Government ownership of railroads as a policy disappeared for a time with the breath that uttered it, and now business confidence is to be restored, credit re-established and prosperity regained by guaranteeing bank deposits. We of New York are here upon solid historical ground. Seventy-eight years ago Martin Van Buren, the most adroit and resourceful politician

of his period, as Governor of our State, passed a law through the Legislature called the Safety Fund Law. The banks were taxed to provide for the safety of deposits and note circulation. In the course of twenty years the scheme had utterly failed, the safety fund was exhausted and the public credit being involved the State had to sell six per cent. bonds to replenish the fund and pay the losses. When our free banking law went into effect the scheme was utterly repudiated. Mr. Bryan cites the scheme in Oklahoma as a phenomenal success, but that scheme has been in operation only six months. We see now that the bank examiner of Oklahoma has refused new charters to mushroom banks which are starting up all over the State, and is asking the courts to sustain him. Two instances are cited from the daily papers: One where there are five hundred inhabitants and two banks and a charter requested for a third, and another where there are four hundred and fifty inhabitants and two banks and a charter requested for a third.

Experienced bankers know that there is no more dangerous or difficult business in the world for the inexperienced than banking. The Colonel Sellers and Wilkins Macawbers, who exist in every community, believe that with a bank and other people's money they can "get rich quick." Deposits are secured for banks by the reputation of their officers and directors. It is their well-known ability and integrity which lead the community to intrust its money with them. But deposits are also attracted by high rates of interest. Nearly everybody knows that no bank can live which pays five per cent. upon its deposits, and bankruptcy is certain if it pays ten. Under this scheme by which caution, honesty and ability are to guarantee speculation, exploitation or dishonesty we would have the overthrow of all canons of business morality and confidence, and we would enter upon a world of speculation which would craze and demoralize whole communities. The temptation would be so great that all risks would be taken where the speculators could secure as many depositors as the conservative bankers, or more, by paying ruinous rates of interest, and then launch their schemes with the depositors' money. The depositor would feel safe because he would have the entire banking capital of the State or Country

behind his deposit. The depositor should be put upon his inquiry for the sake of good business as much in making deposits in the bank as in selling his goods or his labor to a customer.

We have a State canvass of unusual interest. The press is full of congratulation that the Republican State Convention obeyed the popular will in the nomination of Governor Hughes. But it has equally emphatically asserted that the Democratic ticket was in the mind and control of the two State and city leaders until it was finally announced and adopted by an obedient convention. The people of this State have demonstrated efficiency and devotion to the public service in our candidate, Governor Hughes, who possesses unusual claims upon the public confidence.

But, my friends, in the more than half a century in which upon the platform I have advocated candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States I recollect no campaign fuller of that inspiration which comes from supporting the fittest possible men for these high places. For twenty years our candidate for Vice-President, James S. Sherman, a favorite son of New York, has been performing such service in the House of Representatives as to secure from that body signal recognition as a wise, intelligent and resourceful legislator and natural leader. He was usually selected as the chairman of the Committee of the Whole in the lower house of Congress, a place which requires unusual tact, information and brains. He will come to the presidency of the Senate with an equipment rarely found in a presiding officer.

I cannot recall a candidate for the Presidency who has had an experience of successful administration in so many branches of the public service as William H. Taft. He was a distinguished judge in the federal court, executive and organizer of the government, civilization, education and devolution of power upon the people of the Philippines, the pacificator of Cuba in her most difficult and perilous revolution, the guiding mind in the construction of the Panama Canal—the greatest industrial work our country has ever witnessed—the envoy who with the rarest diplomatic skill settled to the satisfaction of everybody the difficult question of the land disputes in the Philippines, and the Secretary of War and adviser

of the President which brought him in touch with every department of the government. Where in our history has there been such an all-round and triumphant career as a preparation for the Presidency? Sane, safe, judicial and wise is the universal verdict on William H. Taft.

I was talking with President McKinley soon after we had acquired the Philippines. He was filled with anxiety on the subject. He said: "We never have had any experience in colonization and the government of distant colonies. The honor of our people and the credit of the administration are dependent almost entirely upon the man who is appointed governor of those islands. He must possess the rarest of qualifications, and I know the man. He has one overwhelming ambition and that I intended should be gratified. It is to become one of the Justices of the Supreme Court. I know that in asking him to be governor of the Philippines I am urging him to lay aside the ambition of a lifetime, to risk health and life in a tropical climate and his reputation in an untried field. But I believe he will accept."

Judge William H. Taft did not hesitate a moment. We all know the marvelous results of his administration. Where there was no law there are now courts presided over by native jurists, where there were no schools there are now three thousand seven hundred schoolhouses with half a million scholars and eight hundred schoolteachers from the United States and six thousand Philippine teachers who received their instructions from Americans, where there was no orderly industry there is now a development of resources and the construction of lines of intercommunication, and where there was no liberty there is now a native assembly educated sufficiently in ten years to creditably discharge the duties of representative government. Twice while Judge Taft has been performing this great work there has been presented to him the opportunity for the fulfillment of the wish, the desire and the dream of his life to be upon that greatest of courts, the Supreme Court of the United States. Twice he has pushed it aside because he thought his duty to the Philippines had not yet been fully performed. Now the American people have an opportunity to show their appreciation

of this unusual public spirit and to reward a man who thus has sacrificed himself for the best interests of their country and its dependent peoples and at the same time to secure in the prime of life the ablest and fittest man in the country to be President of the United States.

POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

OF NEW YORK

IN THE

UNITED STATES SENATE

DECEMBER 15, 1908



WASHINGTON

1909

81589—8288

SPEECH
OF
HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

The Senate having under consideration the bill to establish postal savings banks for depositing savings at interest with the security of the Government for repayment thereof, and for other purposes—

Mr. DEPEW said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: It is difficult to add anything to the exhaustive and illuminating speech of the Senator from Montana [Mr. CARTER], to whom we have listened with so much pleasure. But I want to record my approval of this measure for a government postal savings bank system. Early in my life I was connected with a savings bank and have always been deeply interested in them.

It is surprising that this work has not been given to the Post-Office Department before. The record shows that a postal savings bank system has been recommended by nearly every Postmaster-General for thirty-five years. Bills have been repeatedly introduced in one or the other House of Congress representing the desire of the administration of the time on this subject, but none of them has received any consideration. It requires about forty years of agitation to bring about the adoption of any radical change in government procedure or activities. We are the most conservative people in the world, though having the reputation of being the most radical. It is our dual system of federal and state powers which accounts for the slow pace of reforms or improvements in the service or demonstrated beneficence because of devotion to States rights and fear of federal encroachment upon them, which is the boggy that is ever distracting the legislative mind.

This is not a new or untried proposition. It was adopted by Great Britain in 1861 and its success and popularity were immediate. Within a few years every continental nation, except Germany, had followed the British example. In Germany, largely because of the wide difference between federal government and independent states, the matter was taken up and successfully carried out by municipalities. The table which I here present is a remarkable exhibit of the working of the postal savings banks in these countries. I find it in the annual report of the Postmaster-General.

Postal savings banks, 1904-1906.

Country.	Date.	Number of depositors.	Deposits.	Average deposit.
Europe:				
Austria—				
Savings accounts	Dec., 1905	1,900,194	\$42,536,862	\$22.59
Banking accounts	Dec., 1905	67,804	62,225,584	917.73
Belgium	Dec., 1905	2,316,633	155,646,121	67.19
Bulgaria	Dec., 1904	124,007	2,723,182	21.96
Finland	Dec., 1905	53,455	1,004,488	18.79
France	Dec., 1905	4,577,590	246,703,726	53.90
Great Britain	Dec., 1904	9,673,717	721,819,296	74.62
Hungary—				
Savings accounts	Dec., 1905	563,973	13,975,800	24.78
Banking accounts	Dec., 1905	13,581	13,031,159	957.51
Italy	Dec., 1906	4,639,669	233,735,421	49.84
Netherlands	Dec., 1906	1,259,681	56,153,000	44.50
Russia	June, 1906	1,483,432	59,649,925	66.95
Sweden	June, 1905	567,032	14,648,559	25.83
North and South America:				
Bahamas	June, 1905	1,864	114,027	61.17
Canada	June, 1906	164,542	45,736,489	277.96
Guiana—				
British	Dec., 1905	9,966	324,075	32.52
Dutch	Dec., 1905	5,785	230,222	39.80
Asia:				
British East Indies—				
British India	Mar., 1906	1,115,758	45,396,741	38.98
Ceylon	Dec., 1905	63,850	567,147	8.88
Straits Settlements	Dec., 1905	3,310	317,208	95.83
Dutch East Indies	Dec., 1906	49,566	2,841,535	57.33
Formosa	Mar., 1906	63,332	552,408	8.72
Japan	Dec., 1906	6,658,758	33,713,037	5.06
The Philippines	June, 1907	2,676	255,050	111.77
Africa:				
Cape Colony	June, 1905	98,328	11,032,093	112.20
Egypt	Dec., 1906	59,084	1,581,613	26.77
Gold Coast	Dec., 1905	862	43,774	50.78
Orange River Colony	June, 1905	5,645	828,439	146.76
Sierra Leone	Dec., 1905	5,223	303,081	58.03
Transvaal	June, 1905	40,844	5,224,635	127.94
Australia:				
New South Wales	June, 1905	254,331	38,702,715	152.17
Tasmania	Dec., 1905	17,045	2,216,107	130.02
Western Australia	June, 1906	63,574	11,271,598	177.30
New Zealand	Dec., 1905	276,066	42,158,735	152.69

The most curious and striking feature of this exhibit is that government postal savings banks are in successful operation in Europe, in Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Finland, France, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Russia, and Sweden; in Asia, in the British East Indies, British India, Ceylon, Straits Settlements, Dutch East Indies, Formosa, Japan, and the Philippines before we acquired them; in Africa, in Cape Colony, Egypt, Gold Coast, Orange River Colony, Sierra Leone, and Transvaal; in Australia, in New South Wales, Tasmania, Western Australia, and New Zealand; in North and South America, in the Bahama Islands, British Guiana, Dutch Guiana, and Canada, and none in the United States.

The operation of the system in Canada is especially significant for us. In European countries like Great Britain, France, Bel-

gium, Holland, and Switzerland the populations are compact, almost congested, in small areas compared with the territory of the United States, but every subdivision of population large enough to support a post-office presents the opportunity to the thrifty to save their earnings. Our own statistics are startling. No one now disputes the benefits of savings institutions to any community. On the contrary, they are one of the best cultivators of good citizenship, good morals, and healthy and independent homes.

I recall an instance in my own experience which illustrates the situation: In the village where I was born and which had many prosperous industries there never had been a savings bank. The artisans in the foundries earned good wages, but the shops were shut down during the winter and also when there was a depression in the trade. All of the workmen lived up to their wages, with the result that in these times of depression there was the greatest distress among them and their families. Thrift is not a natural gift, but an acquired habit. Self-indulgence is according to nature. An astonishing number of people must be placed upon their feet by agencies out of themselves and kept there and kept moving by extraneous help. That accounts for the wonderful and increasing movement for the prohibition in the sale of liquor in the various States. All temperance laws were carried largely through the influence of the women. In one of the great conventions of the ladies of Georgia, one of the orators said:

The reason why we want and must have this legislation is that our men are temperamentally so constituted that they can not resist temptation.

There settled among us in the early years of my practice at the bar a savings-bank man from New York. He called together the citizens and organized an institution. As an example and to start it, all who could deposited a hundred dollars. The hundred which I put in, and which represented the extent of my capital, I have never touched to this day, though nearly fifty years have elapsed. Its influence as an anchorage in all crises of a long life has been incalculable. It required eight or ten years to cultivate among the people the saving habit, but when success was assured for the bank distress disappeared among the artisans and workingmen of the town. The money for the rainy day was in the savings bank and hard times were tided over without suffering, though a greater gain was that in these deposits were the beginnings of the purchase of homes. Before that time for an artisan or workingman to own his home was exceedingly rare, but afterwards it became the rule

and not the exception. Good citizenship, a keen interest in public affairs, the prosperity of the church and the school, were all incalculably promoted by the independence and self-respect in the ownership of homes.

The savings-bank system in the various States is admirable, the laws governing these banks are excellent, and they are safeguarded in every way. There are no better managed or safer institutions in the world. But under private management they are established only where there is a large enough population to support the machinery of a bank out of the surplus, after paying interest to depositors. That machinery means bankings rooms, officers, clerks, and other expenses, which increase with the magnitude of the business. In fact, it would be impossible to maintain a savings bank in isolated communities. When a savings bank is established, the expense of its maintenance and administration is supported for the first few years by the philanthropists who have originated it. The deposits must be very considerable before there will be, after 3 or 4 per cent has been paid the depositors, a balance sufficient to run the bank and to lay up a surplus against the accidents of banking, such as depreciation of securities and defalcations. The result is that 14 States have virtually all the savings institutions and 32 States and the Territories have practically none. The deposits in 14 States aggregate three thousand five hundred and ninety millions of dollars, in round numbers, while in the other 32 States and all the Territories the deposits are only seventy thousand. The 6 New England States and New York have twice as many deposits as all the other States put together. This demonstrates that a savings bank, which is the greatest encouragement to industry and thrift, exists and can exist only in crowded communities, but industry and thrift are important everywhere. The only agency which can make these opportunities universal is the post-office. There are less than fifteen hundred savings banks in the United States, and there are 68,000 post-offices. Those figures tell the whole story.

Nearly every day in the newspapers are accounts of crimes of murder and arson committed upon isolated farms, at coal mines, mining camps, and lumber camps, and all of them for robbery. The fact that farmers too distant to avail themselves of savings banks hide their money in the house, and that this is true among the thrifty in coal and iron mines and with the men who are working upon the construction of railways or in the digging of canals, has created a class of criminals whose specialty is ascertaining the thrifty and preying upon them either by threats or violence. There is no doubt if the post-offices in these neighborhoods could receive, as this bill suggests, deposits from

\$1 up with the confidence which exists everywhere in the Government, that the temptation for thieves and murderers would be removed and criminal conspiracies broken up. The deadly dullness of department figures is seldom relieved by anything of human interest, but a pathetic incident in the routine of the Treasury was the statement made recently that the work of the bureau which endeavors to make out the numbers and denominations of burned bank bills which have been returned, in order that new ones may be issued in their place, is very much greater at the beginning of the winter than at any other season of the year, because the farmer or his wife has hidden the family money in the stove and when the fires are started this risky safe deposit has been forgotten and the savings of years are raked out from the embers of the fire in the hope of some recovery by the care of the examiners of the Treasury Department.

In industrial crises, which will continue to be common with us so long as our present unscientific system of currency exists, the acuteness of the difficulty is accentuated by the hoarding of money, but this would no longer be practiced if the people who are distant from populous centers where savings banks can be supported had a place for deposit. Judging from the example of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, and Canada it is safe to calculate that there would be on deposit in the postal savings banks in the United States at least \$500,000,000. This would be money in possession of the Government available to prevent and minimize financial troubles. It would be money which otherwise could not be reached by any process. Fear leads depositors to make runs upon the banks in times of panics, but confidence would cause every depositor with the Government to leave his money in the Treasury and all who had money hidden to take advantage of this solid security. Our Post-Office Department, which began so humbly, has now reached enormous proportions. Its receipts for 1908 were, in round numbers, \$191,500,000, and its expenditures \$208,351,000. At first its workings covered only letters. Then by reductions of postage and new methods an enormous impetus was given to the education which can be derived from the largest possible circulation of newspapers and magazines. Then to make it easy, safe, and cheap for the people to send money to different parts of the country, or to their relatives abroad, the money-order system was adopted and is now in successful operation in about 38,000 post-offices. Through this medium, which is an awkward one, it is estimated that nearly \$20,000,000 are annually transmitted.

Ten years ago we entered with many misgivings upon the

rural free delivery. This now takes 16,000,000 farmers out of their isolation and brings them in daily contact with the affairs and markets of the world. Here we have an illustration of the very gradual and conservative expansion of our post-office facilities during a century.

Postal savings banks would not have been feasible years ago, but now it will be a natural and expressive adjunct to the post-offices of the country. The Government allows 2 per cent interest, and the postmaster deposits the money at the nearest bank at 2½ per cent. The extra one-half per cent will pay all the expenses of the administration and leave a surplus. This rate of interest prevents the postal savings bank being brought in competition with existing institutions. With only fifteen hundred savings banks, and those in 14 States, with 32 States and the Territories practically deficient, and with 68,000 post-offices, the figures demonstrate that it is a new business outside of existing savings-bank business and can not interfere with it to any appreciable extent. We have already enlarged the power of the Secretary of the Treasury in the acceptance of bonds for deposits, and there is no question but that Congress can authorize the Secretary, if there is no use for these moneys in the national banks, to invest them in interest-paying securities. The principal objection that I have heard to the postal savings bank is the old cry of paternalism, with a suggestion, as usual, of constitutional limitation, but we are already, in the development of our resources, a paternalistic government in fields which promote instead of weaken individual enterprise and independence. Our whole scheme of internal improvements is based upon this consideration. The Rivers and Harbors Congress, recently in session here, was composed of able and patriotic men from every State in the Union. Among them were many of the greatest statesmen for States rights as against the enlargement of the powers of the Federal Government, but under a proposition to issue five hundred millions of bonds for the improvement of our waterways the congress unanimously and enthusiastically arose and cheered an appropriation under the old flag. We are spending two thousand millions a year for our navy, our army, our rivers and harbors, our reclamation service, and our civil service. The fruits of these expenditures are largely protection against what may never happen, but in this proposition we are adding to the solid wealth of the country, we are protecting the thrifty in localities where now they are helpless, we are encouraging the careless and extravagant to become thrifty, and we are promoting the general welfare and good citizenship and adding substantially to the national credit.

LIBRARY

INCREASE OF SALARIES OF THE PRESIDENT,
VICE-PRESIDENT, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES AND FEDERAL JUDGES

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

OF NEW YORK

IN THE

UNITED STATES SENATE

JANUARY 18, 1909



WASHINGTON

1909

81587—8289

SPEECH
OF
HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

The Senate having under consideration the bill making appropriations for the legislative, executive, and judicial expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1910, and for other purposes—

Mr. DEPEW said:

Mr. PRESIDENT, I listened with great interest to the discussion when this bill was last before the Senate, not only upon the point of order made by the Senator from Idaho [Mr. BORAH], but also upon the general issues presented. I am in hearty accord with the idea that there should not be general legislation upon appropriation bills. It is a most dangerous way of enacting laws. There is no time or opportunity for the proper consideration of the measures. If general legislation, it is attached to a bill which must necessarily pass because of the necessities of the Government. I have seen during my service here many things which ought never to become laws, and which were not germane to the measures, pass in appropriation bills. I remember several instances where general legislation was attempted in the Indian appropriation bills affecting the title to lands in the Indian Territory and repealing the restrictions placed by law upon Indian alienations. The same danger constantly arises in the agricultural appropriation bill, where the broadest general legislation is attempted and sometimes succeeds. But after studying the rules I am convinced that in the present instance the point of order will not lie. The exception to the rule prohibiting general legislation is in broad terms where the amendment is germane to the bill and has been reported favorably by a standing or select committee. The increase of salaries of the President, Vice-President, and Speaker above that which was in the bill when it came from the House was reported

favorably by the Finance Committee, and again reported favorably by the Committee on Appropriations. The increase in the salaries of the federal judges was reported favorably from the Judiciary Committee, and again reported favorably from the Committee on Appropriations. That meets the requirements as to the necessity of a favorable report from a standing or select committee. The salaries of government officials are practically fixed every year in the appropriation bills. The House has sent to the Senate a bill making appropriations for the salaries of the President, the Vice-President, the Speaker of the House, and the federal judiciary.

All that we are trying to do is to add to those salaries a sum which is, in the judgment of the committees, and if it passes will be in the judgment of the Senate, a proper compensation. To say that in matters like this the Senate rules prohibit action would be to declare that the Senate is simply a rubber stamp upon the proceedings of the House. We would be deprived of all legislative power by that narrow construction upon appropriation bills and compelled, like the Executive, to either accept or veto them. Such has never been the theory or practice in the Senate. If we admit that we can now legislate in this bill, as I trust the ruling may be, upon this subject, the time, in my judgment, has arrived when action should be taken for proper remuneration of these high officials.

It has been suggested in this debate that we can not afford at the present time to increase these salaries because, on account of the condition of the Treasury and the revenues, it was doubtful if a river and harbor bill could be passed this session. A river and harbor bill usually carries \$80,000,000, while this increase will be only \$404,500, and the increase for the navy about \$20,000,000. The proposition is to give the President of the United States \$100,000 per annum. This is an increase of \$25,000 only, because he is now allowed \$50,000 as salary and \$25,000 for traveling expenses. The Vice-President and the Speaker of the House are to receive \$20,000 instead of \$12,000, as at present; the judges of the circuit court of appeals \$10,000 each instead of \$7,000, and the judges of the district courts \$8,000 each instead of \$6,000.

The progress of our country in every field of endeavor and its development in resources, in wealth, and in opportunity for the last half century are the wonder of the world. In material advance we have outstripped every other nation, but we are behind them all in making the compensation of public officials accord with the varying conditions of the times. Jeffersonian simplicity is not an absolute but a relative idea. The simplicity of the Garden of Eden would hardly do for this period of blizzards and our modern notions of propriety. The simplicity of the stone age, when our ancestors lived in caves and ate their beef and fish raw and an animal's skin for the loins was their only garment and in full accord with the taste of the times, would not at present be adopted by the most democratic Member of this body. Jefferson received a salary of \$25,000 a year, and even with his notions of the simple life he sought to maintain the dignity of his office. He gave entertainments and made expenditures which took the whole of it. In everything which relates to the cost of living and to what the people expect of a President, \$25,000 in 1800 would go farther than a hundred thousand in 1909.

I know no better illustration of the radical and rapid changes which have taken place in aspiration, fortunes, and conditions of living than this recollection from my early life. Sixty-odd years ago I was a student in the preparatory course at the academy in the village where I was born. The boys were from all over the United States. The discussions among them then were more for political and literary honors than great fortunes, and, unhappily, now they are more for great fortunes than political or literary honors. But the limit then for the most ambitious in the way of accumulation was a hundred thousand dollars. There was not at that time a dozen men in the populous and wealthy county of Westchester who possessed that amount. Commodore Vanderbilt and John Jacob Astor were the only ones in the United States who were worth over a million. The families in the village, and it was a characteristic of the villages of the State, who owned their houses and had \$2,000 a year could keep a carriage and horses and entertain as liberally in the simple and inexpensive methods of those times as the social

requirements of the place demanded; and even on a thousand a year, owning their own houses, people managed to get all the comforts and many of the luxuries of life.

Mr. HALE. At the time the presidential salary was fixed at \$25,000, how many incomes in the entire country does the Senator believe exceeded that sum?

Mr. DEPEW. I do not think at the time that salary was fixed there was a single income in the country that reached \$25,000.

Mr. HALE. Certainly very few.

Mr. DEPEW. I do not think there were any. Washington was the richest man in the country, but his wealth was in lands, and the income from those lands never yielded him any such amount.

Mr. HALE. The inventory could not have amounted to half a million dollars.

Mr. DEPEW. No. He was supposed to have been wealthy; but the estimates which were made later of the property which he held at that time made the amount about \$700,000, most of it in unproductive property.

Mr. BORAH. Mr. President——

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Idaho?

Mr. DEPEW. Certainly.

Mr. BORAH. I should like to ask the Senator from New York if he has any figures upon the cost of the necessities of life and of living at that time to the ordinary workingman.

Mr. DEPEW. I think there was not a mechanic or a workman in the United States at that time who earned over a dollar a day.

Mr. BORAH. And his dollar could buy at that time twice as much of the necessities of life as it will now.

Mr. DEPEW. I have not in my mind the price of material at that time, but I do know in the village of Peekskill, where I was born and where I lived, a house could be built for \$2,000 which can not be built now for less than \$10,000. That was seventy-five years ago. The wages of those days for the artisans were one-third what they are now, and yet those wages at that period secured for them quite as much as the increased

earnings do to-day. We can not reckon the present by the past, but we must reckon the present by its own standards and necessities.

We have been fortunate in our Presidents in their abilities, their characters, and their high appreciation and fulfillment of the duties of the chief magistracy of this Republic, but no American takes pride in the conditions which most of them had to meet after their retirement from office. Washington was the richest man in the United States, and his old age was passed upon his estates in the useful and pleasurable occupation of cultivating them and in dispensing a large and liberal hospitality. The picture of his declining years is wholly in sympathy and touch with the occurrences of his active life. Jefferson's wonderful position not only with his countrymen, but with statesmen and men of letters of foreign countries, made his home at Monticello a mecca for the pilgrimages of his admirers. The American people were proud and glad that the author of the Declaration of Independence could so live as to illustrate the best traits of an American gentleman, but the misery of those later years of the great statesman is the shame of his generation. He could not close his doors nor deny a seat at his table to those who had come so far to do him honor. His guests, who were really the guests of the nation, ate him out of house and home. His private fortune was exhausted. A lottery was suggested to relieve him from debt. A popular subscription gave temporary relief. The sale of his library, and the loss thereby of his best-loved companions, was a little help, but he died in anguish and in debt. His case presents the strongest possible argument that I know for pensioning our ex-Presidents. The American people do not look kindly upon their engaging again in the hot competitions of the bar or of business. Monroe lives, after his eight years in the presidency, embalmed in the Monroe doctrine, which is the safety of the Western Hemisphere from European interference and conquest. He, too, lost everything in the effort to maintain in a simple way the dignity of his great place, and died in New York in poverty. Several of the Presidents who had private fortunes, though not large, were enabled to pass their declining days in a very modest way.

Harrison retired from the presidency possessed of very limited property. He was the greatest lawyer who ever occupied the presidential office and one of the ablest this country ever produced. He had to return immediately to the practice of his profession. The only largely remunerative employment for a lawyer of his rank is in the service of corporations. In the eight years of his life, by the hardest kind of work and the simplest living, he gained a limited competence for his family. But there was unpleasant criticism and a distinct feeling of annoyance in the press, and a feeling of annoyance among the people, coming home to him that he should be devoting his great talents to these, the only activities where he could use them, to take care of those who were dependent upon him.

Mr. Cleveland, another great President—great in his ability, his equipment, and his courage—returned to the bar. While welcomed by the judges and lawyers, the situation was not satisfactory. He accepted a position as chairman of the board of presidents of certain great corporations. The place was highly honorable and remunerative, but the country would have been better served and better satisfied if, upon a liberal pension, he could, with ease of mind, have devoted his great abilities and experiences in the many ways open for such a man to serve the public outside the holding of office and have left a noble monument of contributions to constitutional interpretations and political literature for succeeding generations.

President Hayes said to me:

There is no place in the United States for an ex-President. If I could go into any of the great business enterprises of the country, I would be hardly fit, and the country would not think it proper, so I am devoting my life to delivering lectures before schools, academies, and colleges.

As he passed me one day in New York, carrying his own grip, I called the attention of a street vender of fruits to the fact that he was Rutherford B. Hayes, ex-President of the United States, and the opportunity was rare to see a man who had occupied such a high place. "Oh!" he answered, "I don't care to see him. He is down and out, and of no account."

It will be many years, probably, before there will be pensions for retiring Presidents, but I think as long as we isolate so

completely from material affairs the man who is big enough to fill this high position, and about whom public opinion places so many limitations when he returns to private life, that we should give him a salary out of which, after meeting, as the people want and require him to meet, the expensive obligations of his place, he should be enabled to save something for dignified retirement in his old age. The American people are not niggardly. They are far from it when propositions for expenditures are properly presented and understood. A hundred and sixty millions a year for pensions forty-five years after the close of the war is their answer to that.

The remark was made in debate that we pay our public officials, like the President, the Vice-President, and the Speaker for their services only, and that if they entertain it is their own affair, and an incident in which neither Congress nor the people are interested. I can not agree with that proposition. I have been at capitals abroad where the American minister could not be found in the residence because he lived so cheaply in comparison with his colleagues from other nations that he was ashamed to disclose his social condition, and yet in the mere matter of communication with the foreign office was an efficient public servant. But every American who came to that capital blushed for his country. A furnished house in Washington large enough and comfortably enough equipped to enable a Vice-President or a Speaker to receive the representatives of other countries, Senators and Representatives in Congress, and Cabinet ministers, can not be had for a rental of less than \$6,000 a year. Yet the American people expect the Vice-President and the Speaker to be something more than mere presiding officers of the two Houses. Both are in line for the Presidency, both are conspicuous in the eyes of their countrymen and examples in their personality and living of our American public life to the representatives here of foreign governments.

I knew of a Congressman in years gone by who fitted up a few rooms on one of the floors of a house on a back street, found places in the government service for his children, whose wife did the housekeeping, and who saved his salary. There never was any criticism upon the service he rendered the Government in

the House or on committees. After two terms he purchased a farm and became a landed aristocrat in his own State, but when his constituents found out how he had lived here they never returned him. The idea of a simple life was not the simple life of the crossroads, but the life of a Representative in the Congress of the United States who was not only performing the duties for which he was paid, but was sustaining to the extent of his ability the dignity of the high office to which they had promoted him and the honor in that office of the district which had elected him.

A cabinet officer in Europe receives, I think, about \$40,000 a year and a house, with all its appointments furnished by the State. The Speaker of the House of Commons is grandly located in the parliament palace, and, if I am not mistaken, receives about \$40,000 a year and a retiring pension. The same is true of the President of the Chamber of Deputies in France. The President of the French Republic has a salary of \$114,000 a year, has the Elysée in Paris, which is the French White House, a fine country seat at Rambouillet, shooting in the great forest of Fontainebleau, and a fund for expenses and entertainment. In addition, all his traveling expenses, and they are many, especially in visiting foreign courts, are paid by the State.

Now, in regard to the salaries of the Presidents, these figures are instructive:

Country.	Ruler.	Annual civil list.	Population.	Estimated national wealth.	Revenue.
Austria-Hungary.	Franz Josef I.	\$3,750,000	45,273,048	\$24,310,000,000	\$240,994,000
Germany.....	William II...	3,143,859	56,367,178	45,010,000,000	471,002,000
Great Britain..	Edward VII..	2,284,200	41,952,510	65,680,000,000	583,201,360
Italy	Victor Emmanuel III.	3,011,000	32,475,253	16,950,000,000	317,349,332
Spain.....	Alfonso XIII.	1,430,000	18,618,086	13,400,000,000	170,998,000

These are the expenses in monarchical countries. When we come to republics, the President of France receives \$114,000 as an annual salary and \$114,000 expenses, making a total of \$228,000. The Mexican President receives \$109,000, the President of Brazil \$64,000, and the President of Argentina \$86,000. But then Mexico has only 13,000,000, Brazil 14,000,000, and Argentina 6,000,000 of people, against 90,000,000 in the United States.

It seems to me that the poorest paid of all our public servants, when we consider what we require of them in ability, acquirement, and equipment, are the judiciary. Judges of equivalent rank to our Supreme Court, though there is no court in the world which has such supreme power, in England receive \$40,000 a year and a retiring pension of \$20,000. The judges of all their courts are proportionately liberally paid.

The following is a comparative statement of the salaries paid to our federal judges and to the judiciary of England, Ireland, and New York City:

United States judges:

Chief Justice.....	\$13, 000
United States Supreme Court associate justices.....	12, 500
United States circuit court judges.....	7, 000
United States district court judges.....	6, 000

England:

Lord high chancellor, about.....	50, 000
Master of rolls.....	30, 000
Justices of King's bench.....	25, 000
Probate and admiralty judges.....	25, 000
City courts of London.....	12, 500

Ireland:

Lord chancellor.....	40, 000
Judge of court of appeals.....	30, 000

New York:

Supreme court justices, New York City.....	17, 500
General sessions.....	15, 000
Special sessions.....	9, 000
City magistrates.....	7, 000

I think that the proposition is correct that the Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court should have, as has always been the case, a salary as high as that of the Vice-President or the Speaker of the House. The question of judicial salaries is impressive because of differing conditions in different parts of the country. All of them must be treated alike, and yet those who reside where the cost of living is greater should not be famished because their brethren are more happily located.

We all know of districts where a judge can save money on \$6,000 a year. There are districts where the judge can live relatively as well and his family hold as reputable a social position on \$4,000 a year as his brother can on twelve thousand in

New York. All will admit that relations with the judge ought not to be confined to the court room. He should be in touch, for his own information and education, with the social life of his district. He should live so that he need not be ashamed to receive visiting judges or lawyers who practice in his court and other citizens. The rule which economists have given is that a man's rent should be one-sixth of his expenditures. A furnished house in New York fit for a judge to live in and properly located could not be had for less than \$5,000 a year, nor a furnished apartment for less than \$3,000. We pay our state supreme court judges in the city of New York \$17,500 a year, and they can save nothing. When Governor Hughes became our chief magistrate and reorganized our public-service commission, he suggested, and the legislature adopted the suggestion, two commissions of five each—one for the city of New York and the other for the country. The governor and legislature thought that properly equipped men for that place could not be had for less than \$15,000 a year, and that is what they are paid. But the district judges of the United States court and the circuit judge living in the same place with one of these commissioners and charged with duties requiring greater equipment, and passing upon questions of far greater moment, are paid, the one \$6,000 and the other \$7,000 a year.

It is a tribute to the lawyers of the United States that so many who could earn in their private practice ten or twenty times as much as the salary of a judge will, for the honor, accept these positions. But as the expenses of living increase, as they are rapidly increasing, and the privations of those who must maintain large and conspicuous positions upon inadequate means become more acute, the time may come when judicial positions can only go to men who have accumulated a competence or to failures at the bar. The one crying necessity of our public life is to so compensate men who hold high and responsible positions, both at home and abroad, that these offices shall not be confined by limitations of salaries to wealth or incompetence.

MEMORIAL EXERCISES IN HONOR OF THE
LATE SENATOR WILLIAM B. ALLISON

ADDRESS

OF

HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

OF NEW YORK

IN THE

UNITED STATES SENATE

FEBRUARY 6, 1909



WASHINGTON

1909

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ADDRESS
OF
HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

We raise the curtain to-day upon the most momentous events in the history of the Republic. The life of our nation can be broadly divided into three eras—its creation, its preservation, and its development. The two last are vividly recalled by the career of Senator WILLIAM B. ALLISON. He entered Congress in 1862 and died a Senator in 1908. Never during recorded time has so much been done for liberty, humanity, and progress as is crowded into this period. The whole world is its debtor, but the United States is our retrospect at this hour.

We are here in the assembly honored by his membership and the hall which witnessed his activities to pay tribute to the memory of one of the most influential statesmen of these wonderful years. He took his seat in the House of Representatives when the future seemed darkest. A solid South and divided North, disaster to the Union cause in the field and threatened intervention by Europe, our credit seriously impaired, and widespread discontent created a situation full of peril for the preservation of the Union. The continent trembled under the tread of armies greater in number than any before marshaled in modern times, and the shock of battles between brothers, each willing to die for his idea, had desolated every home in the land. Lincoln voiced the first and greatest necessity to save the Union in these memorable words:

“I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery,

I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves, I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that."

He stood like a rock against abolitionists and radicals who would have him try to free the slaves at a time when public sentiment would not have sustained him and the loss of Union supporters would have been fatal, but when all saw it was necessary to save the Union he issued the emancipation proclamation.

The success of the national cause in the civil war placed the Union upon firmer foundation, to be made secure for all time by the reconstruction of the States and the acceptance by those in rebellion of their equal enjoyment of American citizenship and unity in loyalty for the old flag. Our Government was then the least in power and consideration among nations. But it advanced by leaps and bounds until at the peace of Portsmouth between Russia and Japan, brought about by President Roosevelt, we took front rank and won the right and recognition of voice and vote in all matters affecting the welfare of the world.

People prosper and nations advance according to the wisdom of the policies and measures which govern them. The waste of war must be supplied by credit and money. The country required revenue bills to enlarge its income; the development of its resources to furnish the basis for increased taxation, and a currency system in harmony with great industrial nations. It was in these fields that Senator ALLISON did most wise, beneficent, and far-reaching work. Happily his State of Iowa, appreciating his value to the country, kept him continuously in the Senate. The record and rewards of his career were due to neither luck nor chance. He won and held place and increasing power by ceaseless industry, rare judgment, tact which amounted to genius, and the graces which command loyalty and love. In the House he was on the Committee on Ways and

Means, and in the Senate for twenty-six years a member of the Committee on Finance, and for twenty-five years on the Committee on Appropriations, and for twenty years its chairman. In these positions he had always before him problems of revenue and expenditures of the Government upon which rest its stability, credit, and prosperity. They appealed to him because of natural gifts for these questions, and by study and experience he acquired such mastery over them that he became an acknowledged authority and accepted leader.

He believed that industrial independence and internal development, increase in national wealth, and a higher standard of living for labor than ever known, could be had only by a protective tariff. He was the clearest and soundest of the many able men who have contributed to the legislation or literature of this question. The Morrill bill, enacted in 1861, had performed invaluable service in replenishing the Treasury during the war and stimulating production and manufactures after. But the marvelous growth of our industries in both volume and variety called for a new adaptation to present needs. While McKinley was the unrivaled expounder and advocate of the merits of the measure which bore his name, it was the ripe learning and constructive genius of ALLISON which framed and perfected the law. He pointed out the weakness which was afterwards developed in the Wilson bill, and his report warned Congress and the country of the disastrous results which followed its enactment. The universal recognition of his talents for initiative and upbuilding made him a member of the subcommittee which perfected the Dingley bill, which has been in force since 1897, and to him was assigned the charge of its passage in the Senate. In this brief review is seen the master mind and skilled hand in legislation for the tariff during the thirty-five years it was on trial. He saw his policy at times crippled, and once nearly destroyed; but with faith which never wavered and courage which never faltered he plead with the people and labored with their representatives until the fruition of his opinions and experience had ripened into law. He lived to witness for ten years the most extraordinary progress and

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prosperity ever known in any land—the result, as he believed, of the triumph of his principles.

But the Senator's activities were in every branch of revenue legislation. He prepared in 1868 the internal-revenue law which, with few modifications, is still in force, and with the least possible burden upon the people yields large returns to the Treasury.

Alexander Hamilton was the greatest of constructive statesmen. With little of precedent for guidance he formed out of chaos a model system of constitutional government and devised the details for its administration. He was the father of protective principles, and his report on that subject has been the inspiration of all subsequent discussion and legislation. His methods and rules for the management of our customs remained unchanged for a century. Primitive conditions in the importation of foreign goods had grown and expanded until our commerce had so far outgrown the regulations which had controlled it for a hundred years that modifications adapted to modern situations were necessary. The work had been undertaken many times and failed, and was finally placed in the hands of Senator ALLISON. After two years of patient effort he succeeded in enacting a law wholly prepared by himself which, without change, has been the guide of our customs-revenue service from 1890 until today.

Senator ALLISON was a disciple of Hamilton. He revered his memory and was a profound student of his works. At a time when the people were wildly following the ignis fatuus of visionary finance, ALLISON kept his faith in sound economic principles. He early saw that material development and progress were temporary and delusive unless based upon a stable and unfluctuating standard of value. We came out of the civil war with our currency upon foundations as insecure as the earthquake soil of Messina, and feverish speculation followed by disastrous panics was our perpetual peril. A loyal sentiment that the irredeemable greenback had saved the Union nurtured faith in fiat money and the virtues of the paper mill in maintaining values. This and the silver heresy threatened political oblivion

to all who opposed them. The Senator's fight for sound money illustrated the practical ability of his statesmanship. He could bow to the storm and not be bent. He saw no merit in so attempting to stem the tide as to be swept into outer darkness and lost to sight and memory. He preferred to go with and guide it—the most difficult of tasks. It required from 1865 to 1875 before the people could be educated to belief in a specie basis. That decade was as full of peril to our industries as the civil war had been to our nationality. The resumption act was the work of John Sherman, but his ablest and most efficient associate was Senator ALLISON.

That law made our depreciated currency as good as gold in theory, but not in fact. The enormous output of silver alarmed the mining industry because the supply was exceeding the demand. Besides the selfish interests of the mine owners, some of the best minds in the country became advocates of the free and unlimited coinage of silver. The farmer was persuaded it would double the price of his products and pay off his mortgages; the debtor that it would reduce the amount of his loans; the workman that it would double his wages, and by the mysterious alchemy of a government stamp, its purchasing power would not diminish with its falling price. Both Houses of Congress were captured by its fallacies and popularity. Popular passions had not run so high since the civil war. Wise and prudent men saw that the success of the scheme would drive out gold, put the country on a silver basis, and after a wild carnival end in bankruptcy. Senator ALLISON saved the situation by securing the assent of a majority for a limited coinage of silver, bought by and belonging to the Government. The working of this compromise demonstrated the folly of a double standard and brought the people to see that except the opinion of the world could be changed we must come to gold. In hastening that event our friend performed invaluable and lasting service. The successful legislator must adjust the bill he proposes or has in charge to the diverse views of his colleagues without impairing its essential object. He yields, harmonizes, and conciliates, but gets in the main what he wants at the time or gains a step for further advance when the majority are brought to his view.

Senator ALLISON was past master of that art. He knew the Senate. Its capricious moods were his opportunity. His patience was never exhausted, the serenity of his temper never ruffled. He could grant to an adversary an amendment with such grace and deference to superior judgment that the flattered enemy accepted a few suggestions from the master as a tribute to his talents. The post-mortem revealed his mistake.

As in the gold standard, so whenever a principle was involved, the Senator's mind was clear from the beginning; but it required, step by step, twenty years before the idea captured the country. The strongest criticism of his career was his willingness to compromise; but the Constitution of the United States was a compromise between the large and smaller States. The Missouri Compromise of Henry Clay in 1820 was the salvation of the Union—secession then would have succeeded; but forty years devoted to instilling into youth love for the Nation and the flag, and the growth in population and resources of the free States welded the Union beyond the possibility of disruption.

The country reunited in faith and loyalty, the industrial and financial systems which had commanded his unequalled talents for a third of a century triumphantly established and working out the beneficent results of prosperity, production, and happiness upon which he had based faith and prophecy, the old statesman might have been content.

Nations, like individuals, "pass this way but once." Golden opportunities at the milestones are lost or won. The triumphs of one generation make trouble for the next. Progress and development create new issues and statesmen confront fresh problems with every advance. Railroad mileage had increased with the growth of population and extension of settlements. These lines are the arteries of commerce and had been consolidated into great systems. Evils existed in some of them which angered the people against them all. Government ownership or government control were leading issues. The President and his advisers prepared a large scheme of government control. It was threatened, on the one hand, by conservative forces which fight all change in existing conditions, and radical reformers

who would put on the measure drastic amendments so far-reaching and confiscatory as to involve years of litigation and invite an adverse decision from the Supreme Court. The veteran victor of a hundred legislative battlefields was called into council. The suggestions of Senator ALLISON perfected and passed the rate bill. It has stood the test of the courts. It has largely eliminated the evils of railway management, and the people and investors recognize its wisdom.

Senator ALLISON was never spectacular. He was modest and retiring to a degree. Many of his colleagues filled large space with their speeches in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, while his monument was in the statute books. Because of the radicalism of their proposals, or their eloquence in debate, or their manufacture of epigrams, others had headlines and columns in the press, while this tireless and unheralded architect of the public welfare was standing guard over the Treasury or making laws which marked epochs in our history.

He rarely missed a vote. When the bell rang for a roll call, coming from his constant labor in the room of the Committee on Appropriations, he was among the first to enter the Senate. His name was at the top of the list. He never waited to find out how the question was going, but answered promptly, and that answer often decided the fate of the measure. He had the courage of his convictions and not of a majority behind him.

He represented an agricultural State whose people often differed with him on economic and financial questions. But a singularly broad-minded and intelligent constituency recognized his honesty, character, and greatness, and loyally returned him again and again to the seat in which he shed such luster upon Iowa. His closing hours were passed in the supreme happiness that after thirty-five years of continuous service in the Senate and after passing the limit of fourscore the people had commissioned him for another term.

If, as I believe, those who meet in the activities of this life are reunited hereafter, it was a wonderful band of immortals who greeted ALLISON. President Lincoln had consulted him on measures for raising money to carry on the war; Johnson on
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constitutional amendments, civil rights, and general amnesty; Grant on the reconstruction of the States, finance, and a government for the District of Columbia, still working satisfactorily and wholly devised by ALLISON; Hayes on the resumption of specie payments; Arthur on the policy of a tariff commission; Harrison on the McKinley tariff legislation and closer relations between the republics of the Western Hemisphere by a Pan-American Congress; Cleveland on the repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman silver law; and McKinley on tariff, currency, the gold standard, and grave questions arising out of the acquisition and government of Porto Rico and the Philippines—all of them era-making measures. Three of these Presidents had urgently invited him to join their cabinets, and twice the Presidency had been almost within his grasp. When he first obtained the floor in Congress he addressed Speaker Schuyler Colfax, and when he spoke last, forty-five years afterwards, Vice-President Fairbanks in the chair recognized the Senator from Iowa. Seward, Chase, and Stanton, John Sherman, James G. Blaine, and Thaddeus Stevens were his associates and intimates. When the future historian writes the story of this remarkable period and portrays the actors in that great national drama who contributed to its distinction, he will place among the few in the front rank the name of WILLIAM B. ALLISON.

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CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS
IN CENSUS APPOINTMENTS

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
OF NEW YORK

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

APRIL 10, 1909



WASHINGTON
1909

82359—8310

SPEECH
OF
HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, having under consideration the bill (H. R. 1033) to provide for the Thirteenth and subsequent decennial censuses—

Mr. DEPEW said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I wish to say just one word to express my approval of the action of the committee. I do it from my own experience in the matter of these census appointments ten years ago. At that time a distribution was made in the way suggested by the amendment of the Senator from Texas. Under that distribution I received 12 appointments. As soon as it became known, I had 800 applications. I had no means of ascertaining by any sort of an examination the merits of the 800 so that out of them I might select 12 who could properly perform the duties of the places for which they were applicants.

But that was only the beginning of my trouble. The party organization in each one of the 61 counties of the State demanded its share of the 12 appointments. I then was confronted with the question how I could keep my party status with 61 counties and only 12 offices to assign. The net result of the whole matter was that I appointed 12 people.

When they got in office I discovered that they and their sponsors expected me to keep them there, whether or not they were efficient and competent, and when the census work was over I had the 12 on my hands, or, at least, 11 of them, for the next six months, sustaining them by various contributions while they were here in Washington, and I was besieging the various departments to find places in which they could be put with more permanence than they had had during the three years in the census.

I remember having a conversation prior to the convention of 1888 with the late Mr. Blaine. Mr. Blaine then announced to me—and he believed largely in this system of appointments to office by political considerations solely—that no President of the United States would ever be reelected, because with the constantly increasing population the offices did not grow in proportion, and therefore there would be more applicants every year than there were offices, in geometrical ratio, until the President

would be overwhelmed by the defeated, who would be sufficiently strong in any election, if he succeeded in getting a re-nomination, to prevent his reelection by the defection they would cause in the party from the anger of themselves and of their backers.

The first sneer, I think, that I ever heard of against the civil service came from as distinguished a man as President Lincoln. I remember it very well, because we had no civil service or suggestion of it at the time, except in the army, and there the regular officers were sufficiently strong, especially after the defeats which had come from ignorant commanders, to have a sort of an examination. There was an officer who was recommended for a negro regiment, and Mr. Lincoln believed him thoroughly competent, because he had shown efficient service in the field. But the regular officers objected unless he passed an examination upon some West Point schedule, which Lincoln knew he could not succeed in passing. And so Lincoln said, with considerable acerbity:

I intend to appoint this man as an officer without regard to whether or not he can pass a civil-service examination as to the color of Julius Cæsar's hair.

Now, since that time we have progressed very far and very rapidly. The first examinations of the civil service were absurd. The first steps in any new department, where officers are untrained, must necessarily be absurd.

But I think that now we have progressed to a point where there is a large degree of efficiency in the civil service, and the best part of it is the relief which Senators and Members of the House have from the duties which were imposed upon them as recently as when I entered the Senate, ten years ago. The Marble Room out there kept me at least one-half my time listening to the appeals of office seekers, no matter how long might be the session of the Senate, and I never had any leisure at home. These applicants were mostly people who were in distress. They had lost their places generally in firms or corporations, or they were dependent members of families in different parts of the country, who sent them down here to get jobs. I found, then, that it was understood all over the United States, where a breadwinner had died and where the adult members

were girls and their support was falling upon their relatives, that the relatives should take this method of providing for them by sending them to Washington with letters from the local clergymen and the mayor of the town and the supervisor and the member of the legislature to the Senator, each one stating that the writer knew that if the Senator cared for him that place would be given to this most worthy applicant.

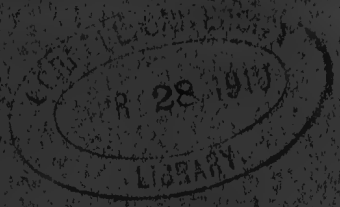
The amount of mental distress I suffered during that period from the misery of these unfortunate applicants made me more unhappy while it continued than I ever had been before in my life. I was utterly helpless. I was eternally hammering at the door of every Cabinet minister, eternally pestering and boring every head of a bureau, establishing a species of information bureau by which I could find out when a man died or a woman was discharged in order that I might get there first, so as to take care of an unfortunate and starving constituent.

Mr. President, that system has so far passed away it is very seldom now that I am called out into the Marble Room, which I call the "room of sighs," and stand upon its floor, bedewed with tears. I rarely am called out now, except on matters relating to legislation, especially during the present session of the Congress.

So, Mr. President, I hope that the committee's proposition, which I think is the result of the best experience of the last few years of the administration of our Government, will be adopted, that we may be relieved from this unnecessary work, where we can do no possible good, and the public service may be better and more efficient. Every one of us, if it were possible, would find a place in Washington under the Government for every boy or girl or man or woman who was recommended to us by our constituents. But as long as we know that there is only the possibility here and there at long intervals of a single place, and that a minor one; and when you have an army, all of whom are informed that you can get each one of them a place if you want to, to be relieved from that as a mere matter of peace of mind as well as ability to attend to your public duties, is a great gain in the public service.

I trust, therefore, Mr. President, that the proposition of the committee will be adopted.

82359—8310



SPEECH

OF

Senator Chauncey M. Depew

AT THE

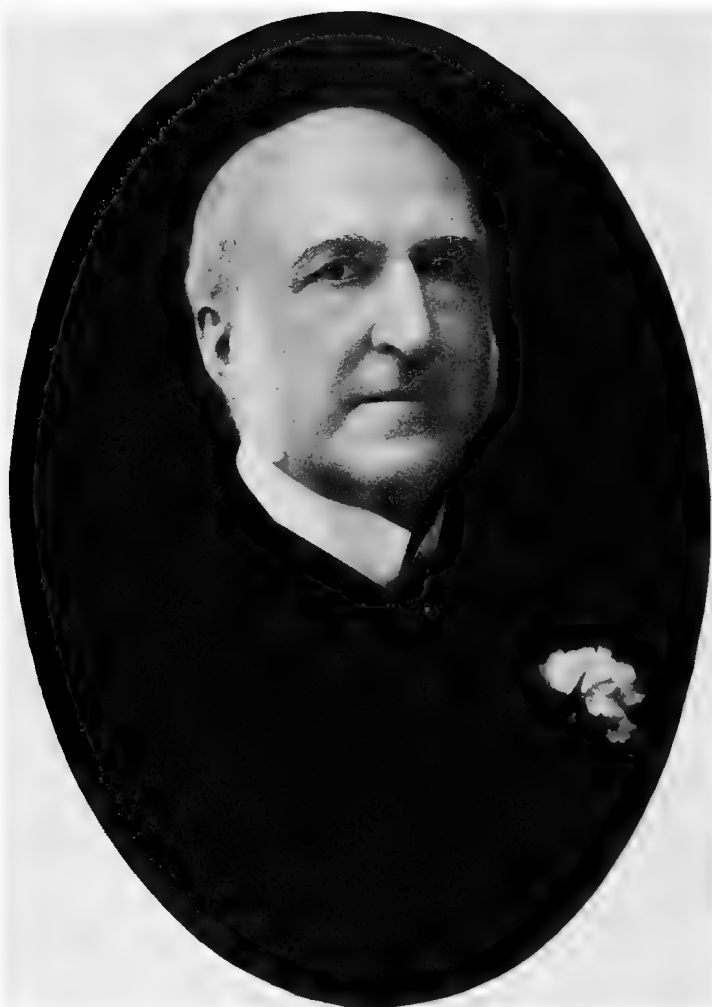
EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL DINNER

GIVEN BY THE

MONTAUK CLUB OF BROOKLYN

In Celebration of His Birthday

on April 26th, 1909



Chauncey M. Depew.

**Speech of Senator Chauncey M. Depew, at the
Eighteenth Annual Dinner Given by the
Montauk Club of Brooklyn, in Cele-
bration of his Birthday, on
April 26th, 1909.**

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

To arrive at seventy-five years of age, healthy and vigorous, with mental and physical powers unimpaired, is a cause for infinite gratitude to God and merits the congratulations of friends.

The most gratifying tribute to my youth came from President Roosevelt when I called at the White House at the opening of Congress last December. He said, "Senator, you beat the record. Speaking in the late canvass every day and sometimes twice a day, traveling hundreds of miles and sleeping on the cars every night at seventy-five is ahead of Gladstone's famous campaign. He did not speak every day, nor travel, nor live on railroad trains."

For eighteen years this club has given me a birthday dinner. I derive from this more pleasure than from all the other honors which have come to me. Friendship has been called a fragile flower, but with you it has been a perennial one for me. Many who participated seventeen years ago have joined the majority, but their sons have come to take their places and to express the same sentiments which cemented the attachment between their fathers and myself.

LONGEVITY FOUND IN WORK.

Most old men look forward to each succeeding birthday with apprehension, but you make me hail them with joy. I know one distinguished citizen who retired from a place of great usefulness, and one which he filled so well that it was almost an impossibility to find a successor, because he thought that staying in the harness would be his finish and rest and recreation prolong his life. I knew another who did the same at seventy-six, only he went to bed and remained there for four years. I knew another who at eighty locked himself in his house when he saw in the obituary column that anyone of a similar age had died. My observation is that longevity and happiness are in continuing to the extent of your strength the work which is most congenial, and which you have been accustomed to do easily. Retirement for rest and recreation usually means that apprehension brings on the troubles you fear and the reaper gathers you in because you are over-ripe and dried up. Probably no sentence has been so often quoted as that of King David, which is as follows: "The days of our years are three score years and ten, and if by reason of strength they be four score years yet is their strength labor and sorrow." Josephus says David died at seventy. The wonder is that with the life he led he had not departed long before. Certainly no modern physician would think of prescribing now for a man approaching seventy the remedy which the royal doctors found for David. Hygiene and sanitation, air and cleanliness have prolonged life and promoted health in our day far beyond any period except the patriarchal one.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF YOUTH AND AGE.

Layard in excavating the ruins of Babylon found the library of Nebuchadnezzar. The books were indestructible because written upon clay which was then baked into

bricks. Among them was an anecdote that one of the beauties of the period said to Methuselah: "I see you have been celebrating your birthday. Which was it?" The old gentleman remarked, "The nine hundred and sixtieth." "Ah," said she, "Methuselah, you do not look a day over nine hundred and ten." As we advance in life that sort of compliment is highly appreciated. Discussion has been going on through all the ages whether youth or age has achieved the most. The famous Doctor Osler thought everybody should be chloroformed at forty. If his view had prevailed, the world would be many centuries behind its present advance. Napoleon reached his zenith in the early thirties and then began to decline. The Russian campaign and Waterloo were due to decaying genius. Hannibal became the greatest general of his age before he was thirty, but the precocious vein was soon exhausted. Byron's genius was an early and brilliant flame which illumined the world, but the fires were dead in his early manhood. The same was true of Alexander the Great. The great authors of all time, the nation builders, the leaders of mighty movements for the advancement of humanity have been of slow growth, and have reached mature age with continuing and increasing strength. Only three Presidents of the United States were under fifty when they were inaugurated. Most of them had passed their sixtieth birthday. Bismarck created the German Empire at fifty-six, but the successful culmination of his statesmanship was in the Triple Alliance when he was seventy-one. Von Moltke won his great victories in the Franco-Prussian War in his seventy-second year. Webster delivered his immortal speech in reply to Hayne at forty-eight and achieved his great diplomatic triumph after sixty-two. Thiers saved the French Republic at seventy-four and Gladstone won the greatest victory in the parliamentary history of Great Britain at eighty-three. Lincoln was fifty-three when he issued the Emancipation Proclama-

tion, Cavour fifty-one when he created united Italy and Thaddeus Stevens seventy-six when he led the House of Representatives with an ability and a tyranny never surpassed.

The birthdays of youth are passed in trying to divine the future; of age with reminiscences. Among the pleasures of life is the broadening influence which comes from contact with great events and great men. It was much for a young man who entered college while fiercely fighting for the election of pro-slavery Franklin Pierce according to the traditions of his family to fall under the influence of the anti-slavery sentiment of Yale, to hear old Doctor Bacon thunder from the pulpit of Center Church, to listen to the marvelous eloquence of Wendell Phillips, to feel the uplift of William Lloyd Garrison and to read Horace Greeley when he was the greatest leader writer of his period.

OUR INCLINATION PEACEFUL.

The questions arising in European nations which move the people are directly or indirectly connected with war. There is an ever present possibility of an outbreak of hostilities. It is singular that during the Napoleonic wars no improvements were made in weapons, powder or destructive machines. It has been reserved for our period of Peace Conventions and Hague Tribunals to more feverishly increase armaments and invent more deadly devices for war than in all previous history combined. War was prevented at the last moment three years ago between France and Germany by the Algeciras Convention. It is the opinion of the best informed European statesmen, and, I have been told, of the highest officers of the army, that a general European war was recently postponed, but not ultimately averted, over the Balkan situation. War so seriously affects labor and capital,

business and employment, that the whole population of these countries is in a state of feverish excitement. We have no complications with other countries and no fear of foreign hostilities. The issues with us which arouse the people are moral ones.

ETHICAL SENTIMENT PERVADES AMERICA.

There is a profound religious and ethical sentiment pervading our population which when favoring or fighting a proposition always succeeds. For that reason our orators and politicians on every matter in dispute are always appealing for this support and ever trying to create the impression that every measure which they desire is a moral necessity. I remember when years ago speakers from various States who desired to be placed upon the list in New York were handed over to me by the State Committee for examination, one of them, to whom I put the usual question, "What do you talk about? What is the line of your argument?" answered, "I am strongest on the high moral dodge." Gambling, temperance, sanctity of the Sabbath, the school and the purity of the ballot are always present moral issues. But to create a great upheaval requires a supreme crisis. There are conditions of emotion and exaltation which come seldom in a lifetime, but once experienced is to have lived. It was a rare privilege to have been an actor in the struggle to prevent the extension of slavery over that territory which now constitutes so many of our most prosperous and promising free commonwealths, to have been borne upon the wave of popular excitement which greeted Mr. Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation, to have witnessed and participated in the culmination and triumph of that great moral issue when at the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of lives the republic was purified of the curse of slavery, the nation was saved and the union of the States made perpetual.

HAS KNOWN MANY PRESIDENTS.

All our Presidents were worth knowing and all of them most interesting during their term of office, though some were quite ordinary before and after. It has been my privilege to know, more or less intimately, Lincoln, Johnson, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Cleveland, Harrison, McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft. Speaking only of those who have joined the majority, Lincoln was the most human. He never posed as President. In talking with him you were listening to your neighbor whom you loved to hear in business associations, or the village store, or the farmers' gathering when you were at home. His awkwardness invited confidence, and his story telling inculcated lessons in brief which no length of argument could convey. His unconventionality was the confident expression of his greatness. A veteran English statesman who was attached to the British Embassy during the Civil War told me last summer an incident never before published. The British Minister at that time accredited to Washington was Lord Lyons. He was an English diplomat of the old school, dignified, formal, able and a bachelor. He often dined alone with full courses and full ceremony. In the midst of his dinner President Lincoln would be announced, follow the servant into the dining room and take his seat at the table. Of course with his ideas, the Minister was as astonished and complimented as if it had been the King in the countries where he had before served. He would urge the President to join him in the dinner, but the President would answer, according to my informant, "No, Lyons, I have had my dinner. If anything comes which is inviting I'll browse around," but before the President departed the ever-present, dangerously acute situation and fear of Great Britain's recognition of the Confederacy and the means of averting it were under discussion. No one knew of these

visits and informal talks. If the historian could know he would probably say that the information thus conveyed to Queen Victoria by her Minister, coming directly and confidentially from the President of the United States was the most potent factor of all the influences brought to bear in that crisis in keeping the Queen and her consort, Prince Albert, always alert and cordial for friendly relations with our country.

CHARACTERISTICS OF PRESIDENTS.

It is not within the limits of a speech, it would take a volume, to narrate, as I would love to do, those things which came under my observation with each of the Presidents I have mentioned which their countrymen ought to know. The one among them who carried to the White House the methods and manners of a cosmopolitan gentleman accustomed to social ways in the best society in metropolitan centers was Arthur. The ablest and most thoroughly equipped by mentality and acquirement was Harrison. The most calmly courageous regardless of personal consequences to himself or his political future in asserting and acting upon what he thought right, was Cleveland. The most thorough master of Congress, because of complete knowledge of its moods, peculiarities and eccentricities was McKinley.

The thought which comes with reminiscences of historical characters is how many of them will be alive in present memory and speech a thousand years hence. How many men have you and I met who will have that distinction when the mosses have covered our tombstones and the inscriptions have been obliterated? It is an inspiring thought to have touched the hand and heard the voice of him who will thus lead the procession of the immortals down the centuries. I think there would be a unanimous vote for

Lincoln, in another field for Grant and in another country for Gladstone. It is a source of profound happiness and gratification that I knew the two first mentioned intimately and the third well.

AGITATION NECESSARY.

It is the experience of a long life that one is in the earlier period excited, possibly anxious, and afterwards amusedly curious about many revolutions and revolutionists. I have learned to look with a charitable eye upon agitation and agitators. If the hurricanes and gales did not move the atmosphere, it would become stagnant and we would die of asphyxiation. If the fury of the storm did not profoundly stir the waters of the deep and raise its billows to the purifying influences of light and air the world would die. So if political currents were always placid and religious movements ever calm and scientific thought and effort bound by tradition or fear, tyranny, bigotry and ignorance would hold in perpetual bondage liberty of thought and action. Phillips and Garrison and the anti-slavery agitators would have ruined the country if they had their way, but they promoted investigation and aroused the public conscience. The transcendentalists of New England were the wonders of my young manhood. Very few understood them or knew what they meant, but they broke down the barriers of Puritanism which for more than a hundred years had walled in, by threats of damnation and hell fire, freedom of thought beyond the pathway of the Orthodox creeds. That barrier removed we have the university, the college, advanced science, research, speculation and the light of our day. The most pregnant phrase of the olden time was in the sermon of pastor Robinson to the Pilgrims as they left Delfshaven for Plymouth Rock. Their experience had shattered their bigotry and the pastor bade them remember that God had not revealed to his people the whole of his truth. Of course error and the abuse of high privi-

leges are the necessary adjuncts of these advances. All reform is not reform and all reformers are not reformers. Madame Roland at the foot of the scaffold in the French Revolution concentrated that truth in a single sentence when she said: "Oh Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!"

REAL STATESMEN DEFINED.

In Congress there are statesmen who claim to possess broader, more patriotic and more liberal views than their colleagues, and who call themselves progressives and the others reactionaries. It is simply a change of title for things which I have known all my life. The progressives of the Civil War denounced Lincoln as the most dangerous reactionary of his time because he would not free the slaves until the country was ripe for it. I remember when Wendell Phillips, Horace Greeley, Benjamin Wade and Henry Winter Davis made their most violent assault upon the President, he answered: "If I free the slaves now we shall lose Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Maryland and the loyal parts of Virginia and their troops, amounting to several hundred thousands, will join the Confederate Army. We will lose the support of hundreds of thousands in New York, Connecticut and New Jersey, who do not care for slavery but love the Union. The war would fail and the Confederacy would win." Their answer was: "Better lose the border States and all that you say than to continue for another hour this contest without proclaiming the freedom of the slaves." If Lincoln had followed their advice we know now his prediction would have come true, but he waited until the situation was realized by his supporters, who would not fight to destroy slavery but would approve this measure as a necessary act of war, when they understood that the slaves were efficient helpers to the Confederate Armies in raising crops for their support and in attending to duties in the

camps which otherwise would take from the front those who were fighting them. The saner opinion of the country and the unanimous sentiment of the army was with the President when he finally acted, but the radicals did not cease to denounce him as a reactionary. The reactionary gives his days and nights to preparation of such measures of reform, of the proper regulation of corporations and of protection for the masses as will be practical in their operation, within the powers of the Constitution and stand the test of the Supreme Court. The so-called progressives would so amend these laws that while the supposed improvements would apparently more radically enlarge their effects, they would be impracticable in their operation and delay needed reforms while the questions raised were being thrashed out in court with a certainty of their final rejection by the highest tribunal. In the meantime they enter upon the easy task of criticism and denunciation of the practical workers whose monuments are in the statute books.

LITTLE THINGS THAT HAVE MADE HISTORY.

Nothing impresses me more than the little things which have made history. Of course the time must be ripe and the electric wires connected with the machinery in order that the push of the button may start the revolution. A veteran English diplomat with whom I was dining said that when the sovereigns of Europe after the revolutions of '48 were looking for a king for Denmark they were surrounded by a group of officers. Among them was the handsomest man of his time, a young German Prince. While the question of dynasties, successions and relationships was going on the Emperor of Russia, himself a fine-looking specimen of humanity, was so enraptured by the appearance of this young officer, that he turned suddenly to the confederate sovereigns and said: "Let us select Prince Chris-

tian." The suggestion was adopted and Prince Christian became not only King of Denmark, but the grandfather or father of most of the sovereigns of Europe, present and prospective. The King of Greece is his son, the Czar of Russia and the Prince of Wales, the future King of England, his grandsons, and the Emperor of Germany the uncle of the Prince. The publication of Uncle Tom's Cabin did more to advance the cause of anti-slavery than fifty years of discussion in Congress and agitation out of Congress. The book of Hinton Rowan Helper brought to the small farmers and the poor whites of the South the hopelessness of their condition so long as slavery existed, and gave help and strength to the Union cause in the border States. The accident that Judge Robertson and I on the way to the National Republican Convention in Baltimore in 1864 suddenly decided to come to Washington and visit Mr. Seward caused the nomination of Andrew Johnson as Vice-President and all the history which followed. Senator Allison had a reasonable certainty of the nomination for the Presidency in 1888 when the attitude of Iowa toward New York's candidate led to the selection of Harrison who before that stood no chance at all. A bitter remark made by Senator Conkling in the Executive Mansion at Albany in a conference between Arthur, Governor Cornell and himself brought about conditions which defeated the great object of his campaign and nominated Garfield. A speech of a half a dozen sentences in a room at the Delevan House at Albany resulted in a fierce partisan controversy which culminated in the assassination of Garfield. I speak only of course, of things with which I am personally familiar. History is full of such incidents, but I am not a believer in luck. A Wall street friend of mind who had made his fortune in the market was conversing with one of the most successful

business men of the country on this subject and claiming that all success came from good luck. This was vigorously combatted by the other. The Wall Street man recited the various remarkable changes in his career which the business man had made and asked if each one of them had not been due to luck. The answer was: "No, every one good judgment." "Then," said the irritated speculator, "wasn't it devilish good luck that you had such good judgment?"

When we were on the verge of war with Great Britain over the Canadian boundary on the Pacific, the war cry of "44-40 or fight" aroused the country to frenzy. This did not disturb the British negotiator. The controversy was settled by giving to us Oregon because the English diplomat said: "The country was not worth a damn, for the salmon would not rise to a fly."

PROGRESS OF THE LAST 75 YEARS.

Begin with the dawn of history, search the encyclopedias, exhaust the records of the centuries, and then sum up and condense their results and they will seem insignificant compared with the achievements of the last seventy-five years. The power which has controlled the world for all time has been superiority in transportation. Civilization, commerce and empire have always followed. The present generation looks upon the railroad as one of the commonest of conveniences and has no conception how near we are to its beginning. I may be pardoned if I illustrate the newness of some of these things by personal contact with them. I stood as a boy in a crowd which gathered from the countryside for fifty miles around to witness the first locomotive come into our village. The vast majority of those people had never seen a railroad train. Near me was a farmer sitting in his wagon and when the whistle blew he jumped out and ran up the hill and his horses after him. My recollection is that he climbed the hill first. My highest ambition then

was to ride to New York on that road. I little thought that when it had been extended a thousand miles west to Chicago, and north to Lake Ontario, and south to the coal fields of Pennsylvania, I would become its President, or that today there would be two hundred and nineteen thousand miles of railroad in the United States, and that nearly one-half of the railway mileage of the whole world would be within the boundaries of our country.

THE INVENTION OF MORSE.

I remember when the news had come by mail to the New York papers in 1844 that Morse had sent a telegraphic message by wire from Baltimore to Washington, which gave the first information of the results of the ballot in the National Democratic Convention, then in session, and the New York papers arrived that evening at our village forty miles up the Hudson, that I stood behind the wise men of the town gathered in the drug store excitedly discussing the convention and the alleged telegraphic dispatch. It was their unanimous conclusion that no such hoax had ever attempted to be perpetrated upon the American people since the announcement by Miller of the end of the world on a certain day which led thousands to dispose of their goods and had carried hundreds of thousands into the woods, as this reported message by wire. And yet we see today the invention of Morse uniting every part of our country with instantaneous communication and cables across the ocean belting the globe and doing more than all other agencies to distribute and unify civilization and culture and uplift and unify the human family.

ESCAPED GREAT WEALTH.

Gardiner Hubbard, as Government Inspector of the Railway Mail Service, while in my office said that his son-in-law, Professor Bell, had invented a talking telegraph.

There was great scepticism as to its utility. He wanted money for its promotion and offered me for ten thousand dollars a one-sixth interest in the Bell telephone. My friend, William Orton, President of the Western Union Telegraph Company and an acknowledged authority on such matters, persuaded me from accepting the offer on the ground that the whole scheme was a failure. That investment with accumulated dividends would today have amounted to about a hundred millions of dollars. What a lucky escape. I would have been dead years ago from high living and my family ruined by too much prosperity. But the telephone has become such a necessity of modern living that it would be impossible for us to get along without it. Within this period excavations of ancient cities have given to us an open page of early civilizations and empires. Science has captured electricity from the air and harnessed it to machinery, locomotion and light. Diphtheria, cerebro-spinal meningitis, typhoid fever, rabies and peritonitis, which were fatal in ninety-five cases out of a hundred, have had their mortality reduced by scientific research to five and ten out of a hundred. The surgeon explores with safety brain and heart, lungs and stomach, and radium suggests marvels for cure beyond the powers of the imagination. There is a dog, a common "yaller" cur, at the Rockefeller Institute in New York, whose own legs have been taken off and others grafted from another animal. The same process has been successfully repeated on its kidneys, liver, lungs and brain. It is now a perfectly healthy dog, but changed from a common mongrel into a high class thoroughbred. It is stated that the same marvels can be accomplished upon human beings and the suggestion presents limitless possibilities for greatness and longevity.

CONTROL OF CORPORATIONS.

The most remarkable in its economic effects of the rapid

revolutions of our day is the position of corporations, and especially of railways, in legislation. This change has mainly come in the last four years. Railway corporations were for a long time a power in politics. That power was first cultivated to the limit by ambitious politicians and then it became a good political asset to assail it. After various experiments our legislation has wisely turned not to public ownership with its manifest evils, but to Government control. I think I may claim to be almost a pioneer in this idea. A study of the question convinced me that the safety of the investor, the perfection of the service and the protection of the people were in Government control of these great lines of transportation upon which the prosperity and comfort of the public depend. I have given my cordial support to the measures for the prevention of rebates and discriminations and for increasing the powers of the State and Interstate Commerce Commissions. The first idea of the statesman who legislated on this question was to make conditions equal for everybody on any one line, but to encourage competition between all lines. Great shippers with vast capital took advantage of this and put all their shipments over a weak line, monopolizing its facilities, both of equipment and of terminals, so that it could do business for no others, and then securing rates which compelled the stronger lines to grant favors, sometimes at the expense of bankruptcy. This legislation really created the great trusts of the country. The railways were utterly helpless because they were prohibited from combining or even agreeing among themselves for protection against these masters of their business. Had the privilege been given to the railroads to make agreements, or pool, if you please, and every contract before it was executed to be approved by the Interstate Commerce Commission and the power reserved in the Commission to change or abrogate at will if in the working it became injurious, the trust question would have settled itself.

RAILROADS AND POLITICIANS.

Politicians still make capital by railing and raving against the railroads, so do mothers in the East croon their babies to sleep by threatening them with Tamerlane and Genghis Khan. One is as obsolete as the other. The prohibition of contributions by corporations for political purposes, and of passes, both good measures, have had the effect of preventing the railroad companies or their managers from giving any reciprocal benefits even for courtesies. The result is they do not have today in legislative halls as good standing as manufacturing firms or private individuals. Members can make capital by attacking them and risk criticism by introducing or favoring measures which are transparently right and for the benefit of the people as well. Two cent fare and minimum rate bills pass by unanimous votes without investigation or discussion. Hence the necessity for impartial and able tribunals like the Interstate Commerce and Public Service Commissions. But, thank Heaven, these conditions are taking the railroads out of politics. They are giving the opportunity to the one million, seven hundred thousand railway men of the United States, who are among our best and most intelligent citizens, to be regarded by their fellow citizens as one of themselves and entitled to the same consideration in the honors in life, if they deserve them, as the lawyer, the doctor, the preacher, the journalist, the farmer, the manufacturer, the business man, the artisan or the laborer. With these conditions will finally come, as a natural consequence, the treatment of railway questions upon their merits and less and less necessity for appeals to the courts for safety under the confiscatory clause of the Constitution.

SIMPLIFIED SPELLING.

There is one change which, even though it received the

sanction of the President, old timers, like myself, cannot get accustomed to, and that is simplified spelling. When I become interested in an article and run across "thru" or "tho," my mind jumps the trolley and is off the track. The rules of Webster and Worcester block the highway, the rod of the schoolmaster rises threateningly, the smarts of school-days from deserved thrashings for mistakes burn in opening wounds and I drop the article as I would a red hot poker.

SECRET OF HAPPINESS.

Biblical writers are pessimistic on earthly happiness. Solomon says of life: "All is vanity and vexation of spirit. All his days are sorrows," and yet Solomon is credited with possessing more than anyone ever did before or after his time. The fact that he had married his thousandth wife may have influenced his views. But he has given tone to succeeding poetry and philosophy. Shakespeare says: "Youth is full of pleasure. Age is full of care." The reverse is true. The anxieties of youth in love, for a career, and with disappointments, are ever present. Age can be serene. Even Lord Beaconsfield with all his wonderful success wrote that "old age is a regret." Times have improved. Laugh with your friends, at your friends and with them at yourself is sane philosophy.

It is said that Dora in David Copperfield, one of the sweetest creations of Dickens, was his early love. They separated. He had an unhappy married life, possibly because he cherished always the picture of lovely, incomprehensible, inconclusive little Dora. But when thirty years afterward he rushed with the eagerness of a young lover to meet Dora on her invitation and found a fat, florid, silly and ordinary English woman, the reminiscences of a lifetime were shattered and happiness and hope were gone.

THE REAL PLEASURES OF LIFE.

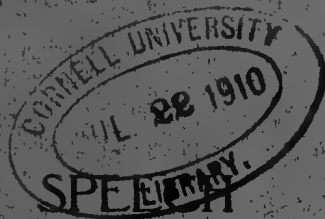
My friends, we are all seeking the secrets of longevity and happiness, and libraries have been written upon them, but the real pleasures of life are to keep fresh in our memory the Doras of our youth, and to meet others as we progress who are as fresh and as lovely. The old country church of our childhood, the old school where we were taught, the old college from which we graduated are our Doras as fresh and lovely and sweet as ever. The men and women who filled us with ambition and taught us to aspire, who stood by until we could stand alone and cheered us as we started upon the Marathon race of life are still our Doras. The right minded man sees in the youth about him the Doras of sacred memory, and with genuine emotion and pleasure he loves their society and finds encouragement in their dreams.

PLEASANT RETROSPECT.

Everybody says to me, and to everyone who has arrived at my age: "Would your life have been different if you had to live it over?" No, my friends, granted the same conditions and no larger information, everything would be done over again just the same. My misfortunes have been my greatest blessings. My most serious troubles have been about things which never happened. My pride in the past is that I never knowingly said or did anything against anybody which would leave a sting or a pain, that while the official employer of fifty thousand men I never had a labor trouble, that in all the animosities or passions of partisan warfare I never lost a friend, and that the Sun of three score and fifteen rises upon conditions of health and strength equal to the best of all the years that have passed and sets with a prayer for continuing vigor of mind and body and the glorious privilege of appreciative and appreciated friends.







OF

Senator Chauncey M. Depew

AT THE

NINETEENTH ANNUAL DINNER

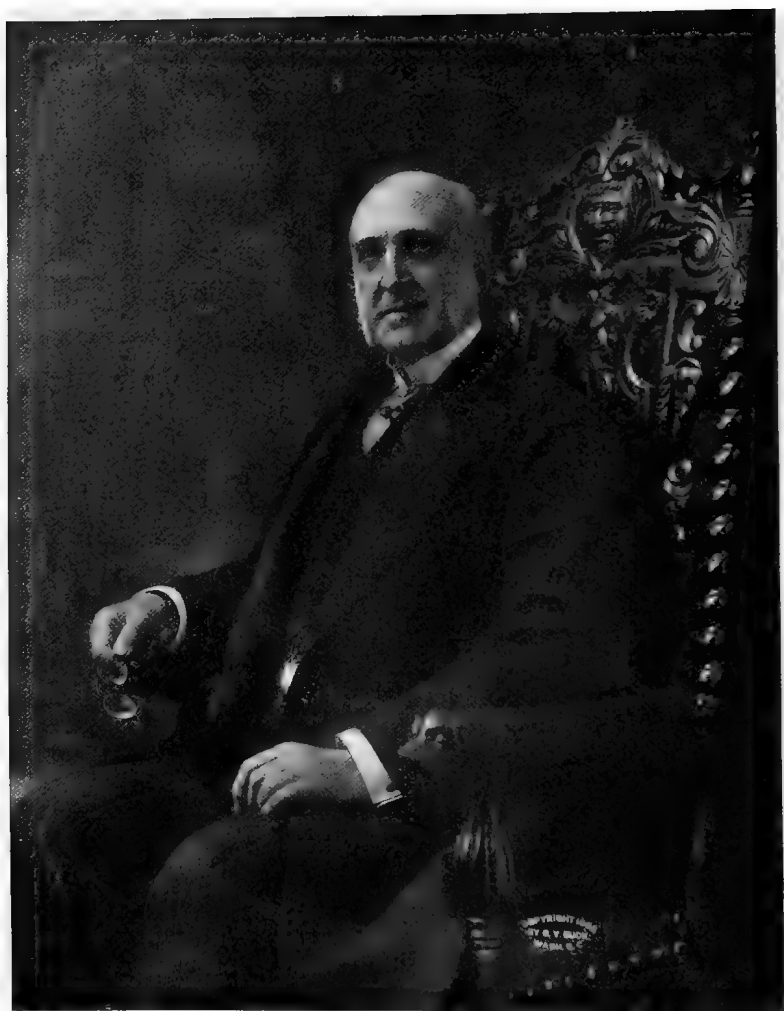
GIVEN BY THE

MONTAUK CLUB OF BROOKLYN

In Celebration of His Birthday

on April 23, 1910





Chauncey M. Depew.

*Compliments of
Chauncey M. Depew*

**Speech of Senator Chauncey M. Depew at the
Nineteenth Annual Dinner Given by the
Montauk Club of Brooklyn, in
Celebration of His Birthday,
on April 23, 1910.**

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN :

No language can express fittingly my pleasure at the renewal of your greeting. For nearly two decades you have gathered annually in honor of my birthday. Members of all political parties, and all religious faiths, men in the professions, in business, in journalism, in literature, in the multifarious activities and antagonisms of American life, lay their differences aside for this festive night, as they have done during all these years. This holding in abeyance and suspension the antagonisms which divide men upon many lines is only ordinarily possible at a funeral. Even in that case, some go as far as did the late Judge Hoar who detested Wendell Phillips, and when requested by the family to be a pallbearer sent back word declining, but with the remark, "I approve of the proceedings." It is a refutation of the universal charge against us that we are so absorbed in materialism that we have lost all faculty for the healthy enjoyment of association and that attrition of minds without rancor which promotes truth and longevity, for tonight, whatever we were yesterday or will be tomorrow, is devoted wholeheartedly and unselfishly to comradeship and good-fellowship.

THANKFUL FOR LIFE AND BLESSINGS.

At seventy-six the world ought to seem no different on its spiritual, its ethical, and its human side than it did at forty-six. A statesman and politician who had won many distinctions and been blessed with a multitude of devoted followers closed his career and his life with the pathetic inquiry, "What does it all amount to?" If I should attempt to estimate what the world had all amounted to for me from the day I entered Peekskill Academy at ten years of age until this hour, volumes would not suffice, and, therefore, I sum it all up in this, "For a long life, abounding in good things, in a capacity for enjoying everything, in reciprocal attachments and contributions with multitudes of men and women, in more than my share of health and of happiness, I reverently thank God both that I am alive and that I have lived."

I read an account the other day of a Russian, named Ivan Kusman, who was admitted to the hospital in St. Petersburg at the age of 138. He remembered Napoleon's burning of Moscow and the few incidents that occur in the career of a Russian peasant. He was an agricultural laborer for a mere pittance during this whole period, and could neither read nor write. That is not an experience to be envied. It enforces Tennyson's lines, "Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay." But, on the contrary, when you think of Auber composing his best operas at 89 and Manuel Garcia still an instructor in vocal culture at 100, and Whittier singing immortal songs at 85, you are in contact with men who have lived and who know "what it all amounts to."

SOME ANCIENT RULES OF HEALTH.

There is an eastern maxim that every man at forty is either a fool or a physician. It is eminently true. That old Italian, Carnaro, who found all of his associates in Venice dying at forty, made up his mind that these tragedies

were due to excesses. He had the strength of will to adopt a very severe but frugal regimen both in eating and drinking. At 80 he published his experiences for the benefit of those who were still dying or likely to die at 40. At 90 and at 100 he repeated the publication and enforced the lesson of the happiness which had come to him with health and longevity, declaring the same might be shared by every man. His plan was very simple. He selected out of the many things he liked a few for his table, masticated thoroughly, long before Fletcherism was known, and limited the quantity by measurement upon the scales to half what he had usually devoured, reduced his wine to the minimum, and at that time tobacco had not been discovered.

MODERATION AND ACTIVITY.

Fifty-four years in public and semi-public life and upon the platform all over this country and in Europe for all sorts of objects in every department of human interest have given me a larger acquaintance than almost anybody living. The sum of observation and experience growing out of this opportunity is that granted normal conditions, no hereditary troubles, and barring accidents and plagues, the man who dies before seventy commits suicide. Mourning the loss of friends has led me to study the causes of their earlier departure. It could invariably be traced to intemperance in the broadest sense of that word; intemperance in eating, in drinking, in the gratification of desires, in work and in irregularity of hours, crowning it all with unnecessary worry. Pythagoras said, "Beware of ballots if you wish to live long." In other words, the old philosopher advised keeping out of politics. In his time the defeated party ran the risk of death, or imprisonment, or exile, and so the advice was good, "Beware of ballots." But, in our country where the citizen is a sovereign and responsible for the government of his country, his state, his city, his village or his town, an active interest in public affairs and party

management gives healthy circulation to the blood, healthy exercise and activity to the muscles, and inspiration and enlargement to the mind, and satisfaction in results which all tend to length of years and usefulness.

THE GREAT YEAR OF 1834.

The year of my birth, 1834, seems a long way off on the calendar but mighty short in the retrospect. The Roman Emperor Hadrian spent the revenues of an empire upon astrologers who should forecast his future from the conjunction of the stars at his birth. If you are so inclined, you can have that work done now for fifty cents. But, suppose we leave the stars to the astronomer and come down to earth. In 1834 Cardinal Gibbons, Doctor Eliot of Harvard, President Benjamin Harrison, Justice Harlan of the Supreme Court, Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, and Edmund Clarence Stedman, the poet, also fell under the influence of the powers of Heaven and earth which started them on their careers. Every year has its distinction, but this one seems to have brought forth more than most others of the things which have influenced the world. In it were organized the first National Temperance Association and the first National Anti-Slavery Society.

TEMPERANCE AND ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENTS.

The idea of temperance at that time was purely voluntary. Statutory restrictions had not been dreamed of. At that time and for twenty years afterward drunkenness was our national vice. At a large dinner like this a considerable portion of the guests would always be hopelessly gone, and at private dinners of fourteen, sixteen or twenty it was common for several of the guests to be disgracefully drunk. This never occurs now, either at public or private entertainments, no matter how free the wine.

The purport of the anti-slavery movement was perfectly understood by the slaveholders and their sympathizers.

Meetings in New York and in Philadelphia were broken up by riots which sometimes lasted for days and in which many were injured and large amounts of property destroyed. In Connecticut a mob with a brass band interrupted a lecturer for the abolition of slavery and drove him out of Norwich to the tune of "The Rogues' March." The legislatures of the Southern States called upon the Northern States to prohibit the printing of anti-slavery publications and did prohibit their circulation in their commonwealths. President Jackson sent a message to Congress recommending the passage of an act for the suppression of anti-slavery literature.

The agitation begun by the formation of the National Anti-Slavery Society in 1834 continued with increasing volume and vehemence. The society preached the horrors of slavery and then on the patriotic side a sentiment that the Declaration of Independence should be true in spirit as well as in letter. After thirty years, at the cost of a million lives, and, directly and indirectly, of ten thousand millions of dollars, and up to date three thousand millions in pensions, slavery was abolished and the Declaration of Independence made true in our country both in letter and spirit.

In that year occurred the first record of a beat in journalism which has become the life of the press. The *Journal of Commerce* established relays of horses between New York and Philadelphia and secured the news of the White House and of Congress a day earlier than the other New York papers.

There was great intellectual activity in the country resulting in breaking away from the old universities. A liberal education was thought impossible except at Yale, or Harvard, or Columbia, or Princeton, but in that year there were twelve colleges founded in different parts of the country, all of which are now successful and have done magnificent work in higher education.

JACKSON'S CIVIL SERVICE AND BANKING POLICIES.

Andrew Jackson was President of the United States and William L. Marcy Governor of the State of New York. The President gave his approval to the party platform, "That political workers are to be rewarded with political offices, and political parties are to be held together by the cohesive power of public plunder." That doctrine controlled the civil service of the United States without check or hindrance for over fifty years. In that year the United States national debt was paid off and the country started with a clean slate. In that year General Jackson gave his famous order for the removal of Government deposits from the banks. This was the beginning of an agitation which threw our financial system into chaos. It made impossible currency upon a scientific basis, and was the fruitful mother of the country-wide and disastrous panics which have so often shaken our financial and industrial stability. The most delicate, difficult and dangerous of all the functions of government, the one upon whose proper creation and administration rests the whole fabric of national and individual credit, the one which should be adjusted and settled by the lessons of the experience of highly organized governments for hundreds of years, has from that time to this been the sport of party warfare, political passion and partisanship. The dead hand of that great, strong man still holds our financial system by the throat.

INCREASE OF PRESIDENTIAL POWER.

Our institutions and political policy came from England and were so modified by our ancestors as to meet conditions under a republican form of government and the expansive necessities of the new country. All power in the mother land was originally in the throne. By succeeding revolutions, the people gained more and more power until now they have it all, and in many respects Great Britain in its

government is the most democratic of all countries. On the other hand, we began with a distrust of executive power and authority and our evolution has been the other way. Our first confederacy was a rope of sand. In our government under the Constitution we protected ourselves against the executive by a clear definition of his powers, by the right to override his veto by Congress, by the veto upon him from the Supreme Court and the power of impeachment. Our early Presidents who had taken part in the formation of the government were in thorough harmony with these limitations upon the President, and with the apprehension of kingly authority which had brought them about. With Jackson a new generation came into the government, a generation removed from the experiences and opinions of the revolution. The leader of this generation was one of the strongest, most self-centered, autocratic and arbitrary of men who have ever appeared in our public life. He not only defied Congress and the courts, but won the applause of the people and changed public opinion as to the powers and duties of the President. From his time until now there has been not only in the Central Government, but in the States, a growing distrust of the representatives of the people in Congress and in the legislatures and an increasing confidence in Presidents and Governors. The literature of our magazines and of a large portion of the press casts doubt upon and arouses suspicion of the actions and the methods of successive Congresses and legislatures and appeals to the President or the Governors to control and lead them. The writers put their faith in the executive and justify everything that he may do on the ground that the only safety of the people is in the strength, integrity and courage of the executive against their betrayal by their representatives.

CONGRESSIONAL CONDITIONS IMPROVED.

And yet, any competent man who will conscientiously and impartially study the question come to the conclusion that the conditions of our National Congress are today infinitely better than ever before. There is no lobby at Washington. There are no interests there seeking to influence Senators and Members. For the times in which we live, for the varied necessities of our Government, for the legislation so much more difficult than it was in earlier days, both Houses of Congress in ability and patriotism will stand favorable comparison with what are called the great days of Webster, Clay and Calhoun. With Grant began the system of not only recommending legislation to Congress but transmitting bills prepared to carry that legislation into effect, and this by evolution has become the common practice.

In 1834 Abraham Lincoln was elected to the legislature of Illinois and began his extraordinary public career.

In 1834 Chicago received one mail a week, carried on horseback from Niles, Michigan, and in 1834 the Whig party was formed out of the disruption of the old Federal organization and Democrats who were anti-slavery and believed in a liberal construction of the Constitution.

RAILROAD DEVELOPMENT.

We can go back to this period for the beginning of the extraordinary change which has taken place in our business methods and social life. A railroad was built from Jersey City to New Brunswick and projected on to Trenton. A start was made on the Erie Road. The Harlem, which extended through the fields from the present site of the City Hall in New York to the end of Manhattan Island, crossed the Harlem River. In other words, from small beginnings of a few miles for local traffic the expansion which began in 1834 has in 76 years covered the country with 234,000 miles of railway mileage and developed new territories

with a speed unknown in the history of immigration and settlement. It has transformed our land from isolated communities in which individual initiative and enterprise supplied nearly all the manufactures which they required into great centers of industries where mills and factories with enormous capital can, because of cheap transportation, get their raw material from great distances and give universal distribution to the manufactured product and place their output upon the market at a cost so low as to make competition by the individual impossible. More and more the United States because of cheaper cost is bringing into every department of human industry greater capital and larger employment. It has produced, on the one hand, the gigantic corporation, and on the other, in self-defense, the labor unions.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL.

The problems growing out of this development are the ones which this generation faces and of which the preceding ones were ignorant. There can be no reasonable doubt that the proper method of dealing with these great questions is not by government ownership but government control. Corporations are to grow larger and combinations stronger. It is the inevitable tendency of the times. The safety of the people is to be in having the hand of the government, through responsible commissions and courts, upon every process of organization and operation, in frequent reports and publicity, in the press constantly informing the people and in the President and Congress, governors and the legislatures, being in constant and enlightened touch with the situation. It is thus that we can promote beneficent expansion, give opportunity for individual initiative and prevent monopolistic control.

COST OF LIVING THEN AND NOW.

Just now there is both suffering and alarm because of high prices. I have not much sympathy with those who say that this condition is due to national extravagance. There was tremendous complaint of high prices in 1835. There is on file in the Treasury Department a copybook of the expenses of a clerk who wanted an increase of salary because of the unusually high cost of living. His family consisted of five persons and his food for the year cost him \$338.10. The Bureau of Labor of the Government estimated last year that the food for a similar family now would be \$312.92. This clerk says that his boots cost him \$3.75, his cotton sheeting ten cents a yard (both now are about the same), his lamp oil one dollar a gallon (now ten cents), blacking of shoes twenty-five cents a shine (now five cents), flour eight dollars a barrel (now seven), transportation for himself and wife from Washington to Martinsburg, Virginia, and return \$32.03 (now \$8.02), Martinsburg being 77 miles from Washington; an ordinary cooking stove \$49 (now about \$16.50), and a firkin of butter \$10.22 (now about \$21.50). Extravagance is a relative, not a positive, condition. Nobody would live now as the whole country did in 1834 and 1835. Both men and women of that period were largely the manufacturers of their own clothes in their own houses. They cultivated their own little gardens without help. If they kept a horse, as many of them did, the care of the animal, the mending of the harness and the painting and repairing of the wagon were all done by the head of the family. The wife made the children's clothes, and ran the house and a kindergarten.

FRUGAL ALIEN SAVES.

The laborer who comes here from abroad and continues, as he will for a time, to live as he did at home, finds, that upon our wages, he is saving money rapidly and accumulating according to his ideas, a comfortable fortune. In fact, many, retaining their habits of living which they brought with them, go back in a few years to lives of ease on little places upon the Continent. That sort of thing is carrying out of the United States a hundred million of dollars a year, but those who remain to become citizens, and those who are born here and are citizens, desire to live as an American artisan should and will live, in housing, clothing, food, educational opportunities for the children and surplus for travels, books and pleasure, which make the glory of American citizenship. By our system of protection we have made it possible for the American workingman to receive wages in many cases double and in all cases much larger than in other countries. But we have not as yet protected him against competition by immigrants who will work for what he cannot afford to work for and live as he will not and should not be asked to do.

LARGER RIGHTS FOR WOMEN.

The most beneficent of the changes which have occurred during my time have been the laws granting rights to women. In my earlier days a woman's property was her husband's, his debts were hers, and it was not until 1848 that she could have her independent possessions or safety in any business she might undertake. It was still later that she was accorded the privilege of a higher education and her intellectual necessities as well as ability considered to be fully equal to man's. As I used to travel through the country on railway inspection trips, I noticed at every station a crowd of idlers. They knew the names of the trains, of the conductors and the engineers, and were eager to tell the waiting traveler whether No. 2 was late or the Empire

State Express on time. I noticed that they disappeared at noon and at about six. Upon inquiry I found that they were supported by their wives. These capable, hard-working, energetic women were dressmakers or milliners or kept little stores, and their worthless husbands hung around the depot because they had no other means of passing away time unless the circus was in town or elections in progress, and turned up invariably for meals which had been earned by the wife. This experience has done more than all things else to bring me toward woman suffrage, for in all these cases she is assuredly the better half.

People are all influenced largely by their point of view rather than the merits of the question. When Captain Schmittberger in New York arrested a sleep-walker, the man said, "Hold on, you must not arrest me. I am a somnambulist." "I don't care a cuss what your religion is," said the Captain; "you can't walk the street in my precinct in your night-shirt."

THE BAD NEWS TELLER.

Any one who has had the opportunity to watch closely for half a century the psychological development of people finds many interesting results. The vast majority are neighborly, generous, sympathetic and kindly. In the evolution of influences the other sort sometimes take the lead. The man who inquires about your health with a suggestion that you are in a decline, who sympathetically wants to know why your wife or daughter or son was not at church last Sunday, with an intimation that he considers his or her condition rather serious, who hastens to drop everything to convey to you some bad news is common in every community. If some provincial journal which you are never likely to see, has a mean article about you this candid friend buys two copies, puts them in sealed envelopes, with two-cent stamps attached, so that you will be sure to open them, and mails one to your wife and one to yourself. I

wonder what this person, who fears or is ashamed to give his name or address, gets in return for this investment of four cents. He may gloat over imaginary suffering as worth that expenditure, but can never be sure that his bolt hits the mark. He is a blind speculator in malice and meanness.

Coming from a long railway journey I landed in the Grand Central Depot one morning between four and five o'clock. A man stepped up to me and said in regard to a very dear and valued friend: "Have you heard about Jim?" I said, "No. What?" He hit me a whack in the back that sent me off the platform on to the rails and shouted, "He is dead. My God! he is dead." When I recovered sufficiently, I said, "How came you to be here at this early hour?" The answer was, "The family sent me to meet you and break the news gently."

WANTED, SCANDAL.

There is a singular prevalence, temporary I am sure, of this sentiment just now. A well-known writer, whose contributions are very acceptable to the magazines, told me that he thought there had been quite enough of misrepresentation and unfair criticism of President Taft and his administration, and so he wrote some articles stating the conclusions which he had arrived at, and the reasons for them, which were favorable to the President. His employers, the publishers, said, "Our readers don't want that. If you have any scandal about any public man or about Congress with enough truth to make it, when properly presented, seem to be very bad and, therefore, sensational, that suits our readers and increases our circulation."

I heard a story from a journalistic friend who publishes a broad and liberal paper, that the proprietor of one of the newspapers who makes this view of measures and men a specialty, having been absent for some time, turned up in the editorial rooms and called the staff about him and

wanted to know if they had been off on a vacation. "Why?" said the astonished manager and editor. "Because," said the boss, "I have not seen anything which flays or dissects anybody for a week." "But," said the manager, "no one of any account has said or done anything for a week." "Well," said the boss, "we have got to keep up our reputation or lose our circulation. Take the hide off Bishop Potter."

CYCLES IN THE DEMAND FOR LITERATURE.

The boys of my period were inspired as no other generation has been by books by the Waverley novels. If the ground was susceptible, they created statesmen, soldiers and poets, and aroused ambitions in receptive minds to be followed by the best efforts of which they were capable. It was a liberal education to read Dickens' novels as they came out one after another, the enjoyment in the last and the eager expectancy of the next were sensations never forgotten. Dickens' intimate picture of the life of the ordinary home, its joys, its sorrows, its comedies and tragedies touched every heart and broadened every mind. So, when Thackeray's novels began to appear, their exquisite literature, their superb English, their masterly dissection of human motives and springs of action gave exquisite pleasure and created a generation of brilliant thinkers and great writers. Two years ago while in Europe I was at one of the big hotels at a watering place on the Continent. The table of the reading room was strewn with cheap editions which the visitors had read and left behind. I never dreamed that so much eroticism, nastiness and brutal depravity could be printed and sold by reputable booksellers. But a popular writer told me that the publishers claimed this was the public taste and it demanded novels whose basic action should be domestic infelicities brought about by faithless wives and husbands and immoral adventuresses, and that no detail should be omitted which would give spice to the narrative.

This sort of thing can be done in a French novel so as to seem a work of art, but in English it becomes the quintessence of badness and vulgarity. In the course of a half century I have noticed these cycles. It is difficult to decide whether they are protests against Puritanism or a certain and sudden eagerness to show that contact with the worst is not injurious. Happily, this deluge of filth did not sweep over our country and the reaction in Europe is leading to happy results. Serious books by eminent men upon live topics and with lofty ends are becoming popular, and the wings of genius, scoured of mud, are working to lift the novel, which is the companion and preacher of our daily life, into the air which was breathed by Walter Scott, Dickens, Thackeray and Kingsley.

Unhappy is the man who is not so much dissatisfied with what he has as with what the other fellow possesses. Happy is the man who, looking over his life, its associations, its incidents and accidents, its friendships and its enmities, would not exchange with anyone, living or dead. A successful politician who incurred a great deal of abuse used to comfort himself by saying of his critic, "That man will die and go to hell." He always came into my office immediately after one of his enemies had departed and would simply remark, "He is there." The result of this gentleman's view of those who disagreed with him led to a general exclamation when he died himself, "Well, he is there."

TRAINED MINDS, NOT LUCK.

Galileo, being one day in the cathedral at Pisa, watched the oscillations of a lamp suspended from the ceiling. He observed that the vibrations were performed in equal time, and from that he invented the clock and the machinery whose accuracy created modern astronomy. But people had been watching the swinging of that lamp for hundreds of years and saw nothing in it. Its lesson came to Galileo because he was the most eminent of

the trained scientists of his time. James Hargreaves lived by spinning and weaving, his wife and children helping him. He was always experimenting and all his experiments were failures. One day the youngest member of the family, toddling over the floor, fell against the spinning wheel while it was working and upset it. Hargreaves noticed that while he retained the thread in his hand the wheel continued to revolve horizontally for a time, giving a vertical rotation to the spindle. That suggested the spinning-jenny, which, by giving England the command for so long a time of the cotton industry, made her one of the greatest manufacturing countries in the world. The lazy man says, "What a lucky accident," but Hargreaves had been trying for twenty years to discover this secret. Hundreds of weaving machines had been upset in the meantime, but it was the training, experience and genius of the observer which brought about this result. Charles Goodyear spent the best part of his life trying to produce vulcanized india-rubber. Angry at his failures, he flung a piece of rubber upon a hot stove, to find afterward that the problem was solved. Rubber had been burned in one form or another ever since it was discovered, but it was the mind intent for so long upon the one purpose which saw in the accident the realization of his hopes. So, my friends, the longer we live the more firmly we are convinced that it is only training and work which win. A people have recently been discovered in one of the islands in the Bay of Bengal who wear no clothes, for in that climate they need none, who do not have to work for food because it grows in superabundance upon the trees, while a little exertion gathers fish from the stream or game from the forest. Under these conditions of absolute indolence and no necessity for exertion their average age is twenty-six years, while the hardy peasants of the Balkan Mountains, who, with the greatest difficulty, can scratch enough for existence out of the inhospitable soil, are the longest lived races in the world.

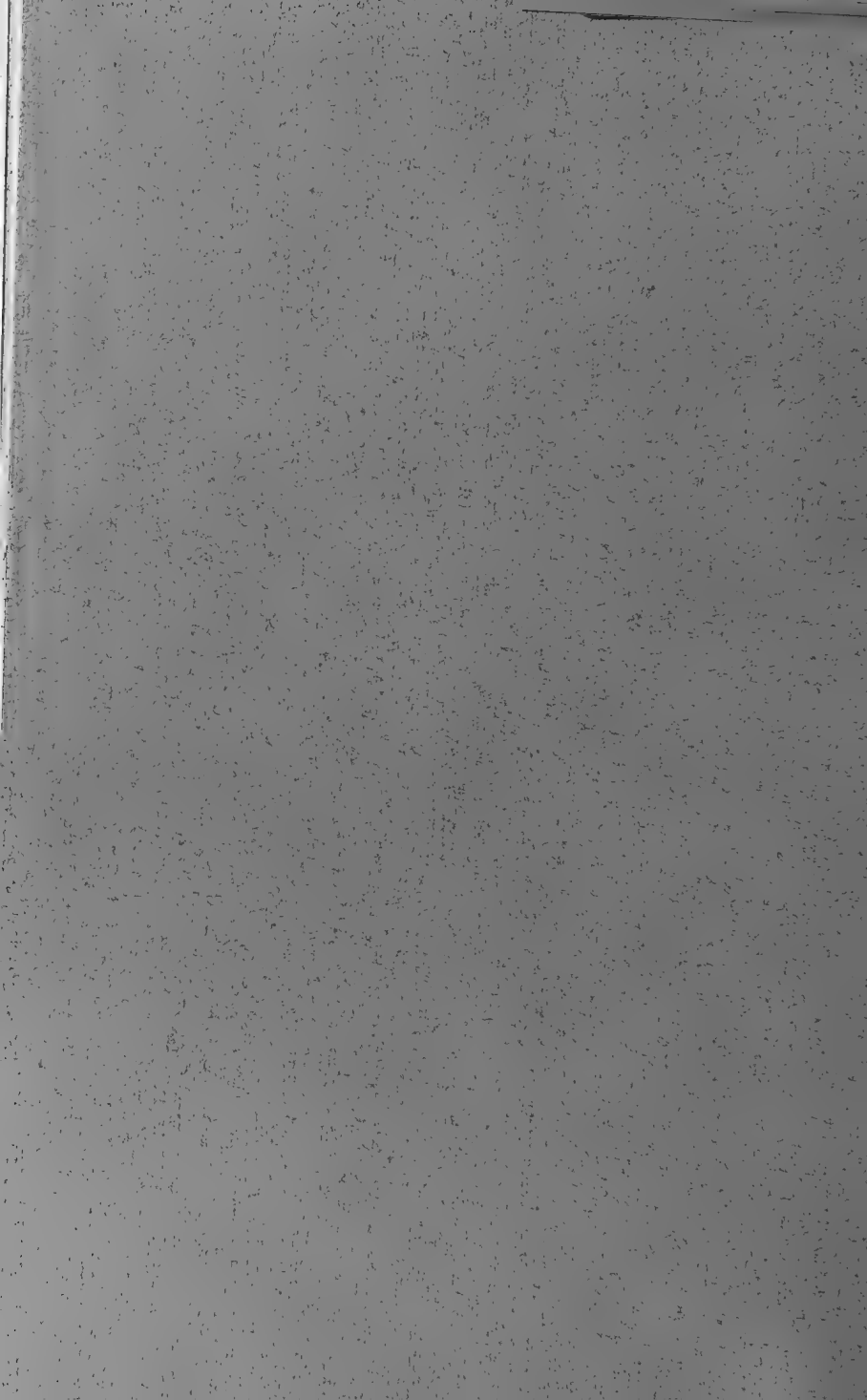
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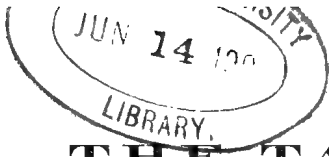
It is a glorious thing for any people to have thrills of enthusiasm. I think all of us, no matter what our views of him may be, no matter how much we differ with him in opinion, no matter how much he may have antagonized some of us by his actions, feel prouder of the product of American liberty and opportunity because the eye of the world is just now filled, to the exclusion of all other men, by the virile figure of Theodore Roosevelt.

CHRISTIAN UNITY.

In closing this seventy-sixth anniversary there rises out of the past this fact of hope and aspiration. During all my earlier years I sat under the preaching of a learned preacher of the old school Presbyterian Church. His most fervid sermons were on Christmas and Easter. He claimed that there was no historical authority for these dates, and denounced them, to use his own language, as "Popish superstitions." Liberalism or modernism, or rather Christian charity, has softened the antagonisms and lowered the barriers between churches and creeds. In these days of Christian unity in faith with liberty in forms, around every altar on Christmas are evergreens and on Easter flowers. The question of dates becomes insignificant compared with the tremendous consequences to humanity from the Birth and Resurrection, and all can now unite in a common celebration of these festivals. It is a long step toward the peace of the world, the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

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THE TARIFF

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
OF NEW YORK

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MONDAY, MAY 17, 1909



WASHINGTON

1909

86192—8383

SPEECH
OF
HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, having under consideration the bill (H. R. 1438) to provide revenue, equalize duties, and encourage the industries of the United States, and for other purposes—

Mr. DEPEW said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: I doubt if it is possible to shed much new light upon the question of the tariff. It has been the subject of legislation for centuries. It has been the cause of many great wars and internal revolutions. The present discussion has wandered far afield. The experience which Senators have had with the wants of their constituents and the requirements of their States has developed the almost insurmountable difficulties which are in the way of the preparation of a fair and just bill. New York is the largest manufacturing State, and there is hardly an industry in the 2,000 items in this measure which does not directly or indirectly affect our citizens.

One result of this discussion has been to rescue the fame and rehabilitate the reputation of the lamented General Hancock. Little things, single remarks, make and mar the careers of statesmen. General Scott's request that he might delay his letter accepting the nomination for the Presidency until he could take a hasty plate of soup closed his campaign. General Hancock's answer to the committee of notification that the tariff was a local issue in his State of Pennsylvania laughed him out of the canvass. In the cloud of generals who were famous in the civil war he is nearly forgotten. I remember as if it was yesterday the telegram which General McClellan sent to his wife after one of the great battles of the civil war, "Hancock was superb to-day." All that is forgotten by the crowding events of advancing time. But now it is brought home to every Senator and to the whole country that General Hancock uttered a preg-

nant truth, and his fame is likely to be embalmed in his phrase "The tariff is a local issue" everywhere. It is breaking party lines in States where its productive energies are producing prosperity. The favorite method now of attacking the protective principle is to proclaim loyalty to the principle of protection and oppose its application.

The wool schedule gave to the Senate and the country one of the most entertaining addresses ever delivered upon this floor by the senior Senator from Iowa [Mr. DOLLIVER]. We are apt to think that wool is American as a political question. But wool created and then destroyed Florence and Flanders; impoverished and then enriched Great Britain. Without going into a general tariff discussion, the history of wool is illuminating. In the middle ages the people of civilized countries were clothed in woollen garments. Wool and its manufactured products were the commerce of the world. England grew the wool and sold it to Flanders, where it was turned into the finished product. England did not have the machinery nor could she procure from the Papal states alum, a substance absolutely necessary in those days for the finishing of cloth. But in the reign of Elizabeth alum was found in sufficient quantities in England, and then began the tariff legislation which we have inherited. England placed an export duty upon wool which made it impossible for continental nations to compete with her manufactures. She placed a tariff duty which shut them out of her market.

When Lancashire, the greatest cotton-manufacturing center in the world, demonstrated in a small way that it could make cotton goods, Great Britain prohibited the importation of cotton goods from India into England. Then the great English inventors, Arkwright and Hargreaves, gave to their country the perfected spinning jenny, and Great Britain controlled the cotton market of the world. Her own markets were closed to the foreigner, and the English statesmen saw that this little island, with its growing population which had come from manufactures, must find foreign trade. The greatest of English statesmen, Pitt, saw that the philosophers whose ideas created the French Revolution were controlling the policy of France. Know-

ing that Great Britain, because of her cheap coal and because of her monopoly of inventions, could make woolen and cotton goods cheaper than France, he proposed to the idealists that there should be free trade. The proposition was hailed by the disciples of Rousseau and Quesnay as an approach to the millennium. In a few years every factory in France was closed. There have been many causes assigned for the French Revolution. Undoubtedly tyranny and bad government had much to do with it, but the French Revolution began in Paris, which was the manufacturing center of France, and then spread to the other manufacturing cities. It was the starving unemployed who had been driven from all occupations by the genius of the British statesman and the folly of their philosophers which more than anything else precipitated and prolonged the French Revolution. Then came the struggle by the Jacobins to support the people from the plunder of the nobility and the cutting off of their heads; then the plunder of the rich business men in every branch; then the plunder of the farmers, because they would not accept the worthless paper money.

A million lives were sacrificed by the French terror, of whom only 2,000 belonged to the noble class and the rest to the productives who still had a little property in their farms or in their small occupations and against whom was directed the rage of the unemployed who had got possession of the Government. Then, when the revolutionists had guillotined each other, Napoleon came to the front. His first idea was that France could be supported by the plunder of the Continent, but that great original genius, when in supreme power, soon saw his mistake and built a tariff wall not only around France, but around the Continent, and the reviving industries of his country provided the means for his wars and recruited, clothed, and fed his armies.

Two men have had dominating influence upon American industries, both men of extraordinary ability, and one a commanding genius of all time. They were Alexander Hamilton and Robert J. Walker. Hamilton was one of those marvelous intelligences which can be accounted for by no rule, who have no predecessors or successors. We know little or nothing of him before he landed in New York at 17. He asked Princeton

if she would graduate him if he could do the four years in two, and that sturdy old president, Doctor Witherspoon, said: "No; the curriculum must be gone through." Kings College, now Columbia, in New York, accepted the proposition. Before he was 20 he had so stated in a pamphlet the American argument that its authorship was ascribed to the greatest minds of the revolution. He proposed to Morris, the banker of the revolution, a scheme for refunding the continental currency which would have saved the national credit, and which was substantially adopted during and after the civil war. He organized the customs and the internal revenue of the country upon a basis which continues with few modifications to this day. He found our country purely agricultural. He knew that Great Britain had prohibited manufacturing in the colonies and the entrance into the market of products of any other lands except the mother country. He grasped as no other man of his time did the boundless natural resources of the United States. He saw that if we remained purely agricultural we must be a country of limited populations, widely distributed, and so dependent upon the rest of the world that we never could become a prosperous, powerful, and productive people. He was the first to recognize the fact that there is no limit of growth to a country of sufficient area if it possesses both the raw material and productive power. His report upon manufactures made as Secretary of the Treasury to the Congress is the foundation upon which we have builded the greatest industrial nation the world has ever known.

Robert J. Walker lived and was educated in a part of our country whose almost sole product was cotton. Its people manufactured nothing. They even relied upon outside territory for their food and clothes. The practical question with him was the cheapest products in clothing, food, machinery, and all the necessities of life for a people engaged in one form of agriculture. But it was more than that which created Robert J. Walker. If we read the speeches of the southern statesmen of his period, we find in them a wealth of learning in the classics of English literature and a complete absorption in the theories of Adam Smith. Many of them were educated in the best schools abroad. They had leisure for wide reading

and refined culture at home, and they had no touch with or understanding of those thriving industrial communities which were inviting immigration, building cities, constructing railroads, and planting factories beside the water powers. He declared that the tariff should be levied for the purposes of revenue only, and he committed his party to the principle.

The ideas of Hamilton and of Walker have been struggling ever since for the conquest of the world. Hamilton is master of every State in our Union. No matter what plea may be entered as to the purpose for which protection is desired, the Senator who asks for it acknowledges at once the supremacy of Hamilton. Hamilton's policy has repaired the ravages of war. It has created in the States which were—and some still are—dominated by the Walker view new industries, which are developing local and national wealth and supporting large populations. The ideas of Hamilton have crossed the oceans; they have captured every country in the world except Great Britain; they have become the controlling policy in every one of the British colonies. The fight to the death is now going on in the last citadel of Adam Smith, Richard Cobden, and Robert J. Walker—the British Isles. It is a contest which I believe must result there, as everywhere else, in the triumph of the ideas of Alexander Hamilton.

Great Britain's control of the wool and cotton industries now is shared with protective countries whose markets she formerly monopolized. She is fighting with them a losing battle in Asiatic markets, where all the world competes. Her great rival, Germany, with as good machinery and cheaper labor and an equal command of the raw materials, is entering the English market under that well-known economic rule by which manufacturers of every country, in order to keep their mills in operation and their men employed, sell the surplus practically at cost in other countries. This process is filling the English market and driving one industry after another to the wall. Great Britain is grasping slowly the economic fact that anything produced in another country and sold within her territory puts out of employment and reduces to public charity exactly the

number of men in England who are employed in producing this article in Germany.

The unemployed wandering idly about the streets looking for any stray job, however poor it may be, to satisfy the pangs of hunger, see in the shop windows everywhere the things upon which they at one time worked and could make a good living for themselves and families, marked "Made in Germany." It is stated that there are to-day in Great Britain 7,000,000 of unemployed. How to care for them or furnish them support is the most anxious problem of the British statesmen. John Morley has stated in one of his speeches that at one time in the course of their lives 45 per cent of the workmen of Great Britain who have reached 60 years of age have been in the pauper class.

Great Britain made a tentative experiment recently in protection, though disavowing any such intention. A law was passed affecting patents. Under it the goods manufactured under a foreign patent must, to enjoy the advantages of the patent, be made in Great Britain, otherwise the patent was open for use to British subjects. Before that was in operation two years a hundred and thirty millions of continental capital had been invested in England and tens of thousands of the unemployed found again remunerative labor and wages. If England to-day had a tariff which would equalize the cost of production with Germany, Belgium, France, and Holland, including fair wages to her people, she might again become not the workshop of the world, as she once was, but very much nearer to it than she is to-day. Anyway, she could hold her own.

The eloquent and learned speeches which have been delivered here have developed a new kind of protection. The new school believe in the principle, but oppose its application. Our southern friends reject the principle of protection, but believe in its application to their own products. I believe if a committee were appointed, composed exclusively of the Senators on our side who object most violently to this bill, that they would have more difficulty in agreeing with one another than it is understood our Democratic Members had when they caucused the measure.

Human nature is fallible and so is human testimony. When a committee whose ability, experience, industry, and integrity are cordially admitted on all sides, after months of examinations which have included the testimony of both sides, the manufacturer and the importer, and have had constantly at their sessions and to aid in the review of this testimony the trained experts of the Treasury Department, the General Appraiser's Office, and the custom-house, make a report, I hesitate to place my judgment against theirs, when theirs is unanimous, upon subjects on which superficial inquiry and a limited amount of information only are possible to any Senator. I have found that I can do better after hearing the statements of both sides to ascertain if I have gained any information which was not available to the committee in arriving at their conclusions. I know it is possible in the many subdivisions of the different schedules for some article to have had its relations to the markets so changed by invention or discovery that a new light has come not visible before even to the parties most interested; but I have found in all such cases on a fair presentation of the matter if there was anything new the committee had an open mind for a review. There is scarcely an article in these schedules upon which I have not received conflicting testimony from the parties interested, upon which it would be possible to base an argument on either side. But it would be an enormous and an impossible task for any Senator to constitute himself a court of appeal and claim that he had greater sources of information upon which to base a judgment than it was possible during all these months for our committee to obtain. They had the benefit of the 13 volumes of testimony taken by the Ways and Means Committee of the House as well as their own.

The Senators who have criticised so severely the Finance Committee are especially severe upon its chairman, the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island. Some of these Senators complain that the Senate is not informed. Their argument amounts to this: That if the Senate would sit as a committee of the whole month after month and listen to and question the witnesses and sift the testimony, which work has been so faithfully, ably, and laboriously done by the Finance Commit-

tee, they would understand the bill. Such a system would produce chaos from which eternity could not evolve order. Some Senators claim that they can not vote intelligently upon these 2,000 schedules unless the chairman of the committee, the Senator from Rhode Island, will furnish a detailed statement with each item of the cost in the country or countries where it was produced and the cost in the United States. Would these critical Senators read the volumes which contained such information after a couple of years had been spent in gathering it? On the contrary, I fear that, still claiming they had no access to information upon which they could intelligently vote, they would demand of this most amiable, as well as most capable, of chairmen, who has so superbly done the work which we elected him to do for us, the data upon which he had furnished these figures and then denounce the data as both insufficient and incorrect.

Nothing so amazes me as the frequent statement of certain Senators that in some way they are deprived of their rights on this floor by the chairman of the Finance Committee, and insisting they will have them, as if anybody stood in their way. There are 91 Members of this body; we are all equals. We have practically no rules. Any Senator can talk when he likes, on any subject he chooses, and as long as he is able. We select our own committees in our own way by vote, and the Committee on Finance, which is so much criticised, received on its appointment the unanimous vote of the Senate. The intelligence of the entire Senate is never so seriously questioned as when such statements are made.

The Senator from Minnesota [Mr. CLAPP], in a very eloquent and attractive address, feared that the Republican party was rushing rapidly and blindly upon the rocks because the pledge of the party and the expectation of the people were that there should be a general revision downward. In my judgment the pledge of the party and the expectation of the people are that we should do exact justice in this matter, upon every schedule in the bill, and upon every one of the 2,000 items which are affected. I believe that the practice of protection, which has made our country what it is and our people what they are, has

as firm a hold upon the electorate as ever. I believe that it is thoroughly understood and assented to by the masses that we should so arrange our tariff policy as to constantly enlarge the area of production and employment within our own borders, and do it by imposing a duty which will equalize the cost of production, with due regard to the higher wage which we expect our artisans to have over those which prevail in countries in competition with us.

We have lost sight in this debate of changes in the cost of production; that from 1860 to 1909 wages have more than doubled; that they have advanced 25 per cent since the Dingley bill was enacted; that the hours of labor have been reduced from a third to a quarter; and that, inasmuch as in every production labor is from 60 to 90 per cent of the cost, we have thus increased our cost from 25 to 50 per cent. We have lost sight of the fact that this beneficent but almost revolutionary movement for the benefit of the workers has not advanced in anything like the same proportion in European countries.

Our labor leaders recognize that one of the acute difficulties which meet them is that the immigrants who come here are glad at first to accept from a quarter to a third less in wages than we are accustomed to. It is only the labor unions and the contract-labor laws against immigration which prevent us being swamped in this respect. Congestion of population always results in lower wages and longer hours. When the line is closely drawn between employment and starvation, because there are two, or three, or four, or ten hungry for a single job, there is a loss of independence and individuality, and the doctrine of self-preservation compels conditions which are abhorrent to us. The first principle of that American citizenship upon which must rest our future, as has rested our past, is adequate compensation for the American standard of living and the comforts of the American home. Immigrants, when they first come here and receive our wages on a scale to which they have never been accustomed, are apt to live as they did in their own country, with the result that they save 60 per cent, and in a few years are able to return to the land of their birth as capitalists. That process is going on constantly with us to the extent of hundreds of

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thousands a year. It is not healthy for our body politic to have that kind of citizenship.

The telegraph, the cable, the flying steamers, have made practically all the world one. No country to-day of the highly organized industrial nations has any superiority over another in its machinery. The inventions of one land are quickly copied and duplicated in another. The German chemists, who are the most expert and patient workers in the world, have produced some 400 different articles out of coal tar. They have enormously enlarged the pharmacopœia of all nations. The formulas are soon understood and other nations can use them. We have the raw material. To the extent to which we can duplicate we have that much more employment among ourselves. To the extent that we purchase on the other side we lose just that amount of employment in our own country. If all the world was alike, if the cost of production was the same everywhere, if wages and hours were the same in all nations and among all races, then we could have the same conditions that exist between our own States.

The city of Dundee in Scotland had a very large industry in the making from jute of cotton bagging. It was a monopoly. They made the bagging for the cotton not only for the United States, but for all the other countries. Our manufacturers found that with a sufficient tariff this bagging could be successfully produced in this country. It led to the creation in different States of some 300 mills with the employment of many thousands of people. The tariff did not destroy the Dundee factories, because it was not high enough to prevent competition, and the Dundee factories still had other fields than the United States for their operation. But mills were established in India where labor was 30 cents a day, against 75 in Dundee and \$1.50 to \$2 in the United States. Great Britain being a free-trade country the Dundee millers were bankrupted, and a large population added to the already increasing numbers of the unemployed. Now we are met with a demand to wipe out our own mills and throw out of employment our own people in order to let in this cheap Indian production, with which it is impossible to compete except by tariff protection. Who would

be benefited? There are no shrewder manufacturers and merchants in the world than the English, and they control these factories and are already in our market. When they have a monopoly the cost to the cotton farmer will be raised far beyond what he pays to-day and he will be utterly helpless. You may say he could escape that by again renewing the tariff, but it takes hundreds of thousands of dollars to organize a mill, and capital after such an experience would never enter upon the uncertain sea of hysterical legislation.

Eighty per cent of the petroleum in this country is produced from wells owned by 500,000 farmers who are independent producers. It is purchased by the Standard Oil Company, which is a refining corporation and not an oil-producing one, and by a few independent refiners who are still in business. There has been discovered in Mexico, on the coast, an exhaustless field of petroleum. It can be piped to the tank steamers of the Standard Oil Company on the Gulf at 20 per cent of the cost which carries the oil from the Oklahoma field, or New York, or Illinois, or West Virginia. The bogey of the Standard Oil Company creates a sentiment dangerous to the politician against giving any protection to the American farmer who produces oil for fear it might help the Standard Oil Company, when it is as plain as two and two make four that the Standard Oil Company would be the sole beneficiary at the expense of the American independent producers of the free trade in oil between Mexico and the United States.

I might cite a hundred such instances where the changing conditions of production and of cost, as governed by wages, by hours, and by invention, make the rule of a revision downward simply the adoption of practically free trade.

What has been accomplished by protection is happily instanced in our State of New York among many industries. Hats have built up a thriving city at Yonkers and are building other industrial communities in other parts of the State. The protection for men's gloves has created a community of 30,000 people and reduced the price from two and one-half to three dollars, as it was when England had the monopoly, to a dollar and a dollar and a half. Now, the great English manufacturers

are moving to Gloversville. An equivalent protection for women's gloves would lead in two years to the employment of 50,000 men to the destruction of the foreign monopoly and would give to our own people an article much cheaper and better than they have now. The same results have followed in a thriving community of 30,000 in the finishing of lumber at Tonawanda and corresponding results at Ogdensburg and other places. I might enlarge this list almost indefinitely.

No country can show figures like these: That since Republican protection became a fixed policy the wealth of the United States has increased six times, our foreign trade three times, the wages in our factories three times, our railroad mileage six times, our foreign commerce three times, and the value of our manufactured products seven times, our exports from 1897 to 1909 300 per cent. Except for these conditions we never could have had our railroads carrying populations to the farms and productive possibilities carrying the factory near to the raw material; we never could have had manufacturing centers which brought the markets to the farmer's door; we never could have had the consumers, whose numbers and whose prosperity give the farmer his opportunity, the manufacturer his opportunity, the merchant his opportunity, the railroad its opportunity, and the steamboat and the canal their opportunities.

There never was greater nonsense than this attempt to establish irreconcilable antagonism between producers and consumers. They are constantly interchangeable. Our country buys one-third of the productions of the earth. Why? Because we have the money. Why the money? Because we have the employment, and with the employment the wages, and with the wages the acquisition of the habits which make the luxuries of to-day the necessities of to-morrow.

My friend, the senior Senator from Iowa, in one of the ablest and most eloquent addresses delivered in this Chamber, has attacked the wool and cotton schedules. That speech has been very widely quoted, more, I think, than any which has been made here. A can of dynamite intelligently exploded will get more headlines and editorial comment than all the railroad trains of the country carrying the products of the farmer to the

factories and the market, and of the markets of the country in distributing the results of their sales back to the farms and the factories. Automatic prosperity is like the air we breathe—it has to be questioned to interest anybody.

A close examination of the picturesque presentation of my distinguished friend reduces his criticism more to the manner of administration than to the subject-matter of the law. No tariff act could be prepared covering, as we are attempting to do now, the whole field of protective legislation without having paragraphs which are highly technical. Wool at one time was used only for clothes; now the subdivisions in which it is used are almost infinite. The difficulty of compressing within the law language which will not permit the shrewd and dishonest to escape its protection is exceedingly difficult.

The moment a tariff law is enacted tariff lawyers, importers, and experts are at work to find out how its provisions may be evaded by some change in manufacture or some device in the mixture of other articles which will enable what was intended to be placed under the highest duty to come in under the lowest. That is the most subtle and ingenious method of smuggling. No one can have read over even cursorily this testimony or listened to the people from his own State who are engaged in these manufactures without learning to what extent this species of smuggling is carried on. It is right here that the customs expert must be both able and honest. A deficiency in this respect is the opportunity of the importer and the injury of the domestic manufacturer and home labor.

The appraiser, the customs officer, the treasury official on a salary of five or six thousand dollars a year is thus pitted against the \$50,000 lawyer and the \$25,000 expert in the service of the importer. It is a magnificent tribute to the civil service of our Government that it has officers to do this work so ably and honestly. There are men in these departments who have ability sufficient to be at the head of great business enterprises or to be Cabinet officers who are proud to serve their country in these minor positions with an intelligence and devotion deserving of the highest commendation.

There is nothing which gives me more pain than to have my idols broken. I wish that those professors of destructive criticism who have murdered William Tell and Arnold Winkelreid and almost destroyed our faith in George Washington and Napoleon Bonaparte had never lived. The Bacon cryptograph which demonstrates that there never was a Shakespeare does not appeal to me. Much of the argument made by professing protectionists has been to throw from their pedestals the statues of William Allison, William McKinley, and Governor Dingley. These three eminent creators and advocates of tariff bills are charged to have known little about what they were doing. No one charges them with dishonesty, either in thought or purpose, but the general impression left by the criticisms upon them is that their countrymen were never more mistaken than in the estimate which they have of them that they were the most distinguished as well as the best informed of protectionists. We must believe, if we are to credit the mistakes and failures which they are alleged to have made in 1892 and 1897, that no statesman ever occupied permanent positions in either House who were so easily fooled. My faith in them is unimpaired.

There is nothing new under the sun, and the oldest of free-trade cries is the one of revision downward. In all the speeches that have been made here, so far as I can recall them, the only open and direct attack upon the protective system as a policy or a system has been from the distinguished Senator from Georgia [Mr. BACON], but attacks have, nevertheless, been effective and deadly, and have produced their impression upon the country because they came from our own household, from those who proclaim their undying faith in the principle, but claim that in practice it leads to nearly all the disastrous results which are charged against it by its open enemies. Congressman Morrison presented the only true rule if we are to adopt a revision downward. He proposed a horizontal reduction in the whole schedule of 25 per cent. To have accepted his plea would have been to admit his contention that there should be no such thing as a duty upon any article which should equalize the cost

of production between this and other countries with due regard to the wages of American labor.

I was a delegate to the national convention at Chicago, and mingled as much as anyone with the representatives of the Republican party. I was one of the vice-presidents. At dinners given to favorite sons I frescoed and covered with flowers of rhetoric their candidates, and while admiring friends prophesied his success, we all, except him, knew that he was in the class of those "mentioned." I spoke at public gatherings and in the halls of hotels for the candidate I wanted, and he, happily, as Vice-President, is the presiding officer of the Senate. I was up as late as the youngest and as early as the oldest member of the convention. The absorbing question was not revision of the tariff, but the hope that Roosevelt would accept and the fear that he might take a renomination. The subject uppermost in all minds was not the tariff, but whether anarchy or sanity would prevail in the resolutions. When sanity won, there were the same progressive predictions of disasters, which were answered at the election by the largest of our popular majorities for Taft and the platform. There was no discussion of, public or private, and no committals to, public or private, any method of the revision of the tariff. There was an understanding, in which all Republicans are agreed, that the constantly changing conditions of production and invention and in cost in different countries not only justified but demanded an examination of the tariff schedules which have been in existence for ten years, with a view to doing equal and exact justice to every one of these items within protective principles which have been inserted in the Republican platform ever since the formation of the party.

There has been brought to my attention by constituents of mine changes which have taken place within the last few years which entirely alter the relations of the American manufacturer to particular articles. There are many industries which have grown up in this country since the Dingley tariff, in which are invested many millions of dollars and employment given to tens of thousands of people. I refer now specially to industries where the raw material has come from India, South Amer-

ica, or the East. The change has come about by the English starting factories in the countries where the raw material is produced and where labor is nominal compared with ours. It is easy to name several industries which were prosperous at one time which are now struggling to live because the manufactured article comes into this country either under no duty, because it was not produced anywhere else at one time, or under a duty which is now wholly inadequate because the English manufacturer in India, South America, and the East has the raw material at his door; has his wages at one-quarter those paid in the United States, and much less when you consider the length of hours; with whom transportation is a negligible quantity; and who, unless the revision is upward instead of downward, will command the American market, drive our manufacturers out of business, and then, with his monopoly, make his own prices to us, his helpless victims. Undoubtedly there are other articles where the perfection of American machinery, the command of the raw material, the opportunities for transportation, and the elements of cost, including higher wages, justify a reduction to a point where the tariff shall not be prohibitive. Competition and not prohibition is the real object of the principle for which we are contending.

The newspapers tell us that France is on the eve of a revolution and that it originates, as always, in Paris. The remark was once made by a distinguished observer that, to maintain peace and order, Paris had to be shot over about once every thirty years. I do not know that there is any truth in this broad generalization, because broad generalizations are seldom true, but it is true, and that has been our history, that it requires a lesson in modified free trade to bring our people to a full realization of its effects. The lambs in their gambols frisked us fifteen years ago into a wool schedule which reduced the flocks from useful producers of national wealth to expensive ornaments on the plains and on the hillsides. The lambs of the present day have forgotten their experience, and it may require 11-cent wool to smash, as it did twelve years ago, the rainbows and dreams of the college idealists and the political theorist.

It has been charged here that the United States Steel Corporation made last year \$9 a ton profit in excess of any legitimate return to which they were entitled. As the duty on their product was \$7, if that statement is true, it is evident, after taking the entire duty off, they would still have made \$2 more than a legitimate return upon their investment. There must be some error in the calculation which would justify the remark quoted by my eloquent friend from Iowa, that the chief practical use of statistics was to keep the other fellow from lying to you. Out of the Carlyle generalization has grown an American one that figures will not lie unless a liar makes the figures. No one charges and no one believes that there has been an intentional misrepresentation of the figures which have been presented by any Senator on any of the schedules in these debates, but if the profits of the United States Steel Corporation had been so preposterous, then the independent companies which are as well situated, without any water in their capital, with the latest machinery and the best of management, would have been able to make large money.

Even if it is true that the United States Steel Corporation made \$9 in excess of any fair and legitimate return, even if it is true that the United States Steel Corporation can make iron \$2 a ton cheaper than the independent companies, there would still have been for the independent companies \$7 of profit in addition to a legitimate return upon their capital. As a matter of fact, they got no return at all.

The question has been raised why we should keep a tariff upon steel to protect independent producers, who have 50 per cent of the business and employment, at the expense of the American public. Why not, in order to reach the United States Steel Corporation, take the tariff all off and let the independent companies be absorbed and the whole iron and steel business of the country placed in one great monopoly? No one would dare argue or urge that, because the sufferers would be the consumers on the one side and the wage-earners on the other, with no possibility of relief in sight. Then why does not the United States Steel Corporation, having the power, as it apparently has, to produce more cheaply, crush its independent

rivals? The American business man above all other qualities has good sense. With equal opportunities he fears no rivals. With too great opportunities he fears public opinion and legislation. To crush out the independent steel companies it would be necessary for the United States Steel Corporation to forego dividends upon its common and preferred stock and carry on its business on a scale of meager profits for a number of years, while by dividing and leaving the market open to fair and reasonable competition, with the independent companies controlling one-half of the output and the business, it is enabled to earn profits which keep its works up to the standard, which give value to its bonds and its preferred stock, and which now and then permit a return upon the common. If it had a monopoly and the American market was thrown open to competition, the laws of trade would lead to an understanding with those gigantic trusts which control the markets of Great Britain and of the Continent, especially Germany, to whose tyranny and operations the lamp post would not be an effective remedy. You can hang a man, not a corporation. You can hang a man upon a basis which would bring about the terrors of the French Revolution and the disruption of society, but the United States Steel Corporation is owned by 100,000 stockholders, of whom 27,500 are workers in the mines, the mills, and the furnaces, and on the railroads, and the steamboats of the corporation.

My eloquent friend from Georgia, in his brilliant defense of the South, claimed that the prosperity which has created a new South would have come without any protective tariff, and that the protection which, in our judgment, has made the new South, has created a class who live by placing tax burdens upon their neighbors who owe them nothing and receive no benefits whatever from their existence. Now let us see. At the close of the war the South, as he says, was purely agricultural, and all its property destroyed but land, and, as the Senator from Massachusetts has so ably demonstrated, it was that which presented such a frightful handicap during the civil war upon as gallant, brave, and resourceful a people as ever existed.

Soon after the civil war protection enabled capitalists to take advantage in the South of the principle that where the raw material and the manufactory are side by side there is prosperity for both. Now, see this remarkable result: The manufactured products of the South in 1880 were four hundred and fifty millions; in 1900 one billion four hundred and fifty millions; in 1908 \$1,908,000,000. In view of these figures, where is the claim that the South is still an agricultural country and dependent entirely upon agriculture for its living? There is not a person, I believe, interested in the manufacturing industries of the South, who intelligently understands them, who would assent to-day to the repeal of the tariff upon cotton products and iron products because protection is an oppression upon their farming neighbors.

Now, my friend the Senator from Georgia gave a very illuminating exposition, as he always does, the other day upon conditions in the South in reference to the principle of protection. He is the only real, honest free trader who has spoken here, and I love his courage.

Mr. BACON. I will accept a part of it, but not the other.

Mr. DEPEW. The other means, I think, that there are others.

Mr. BACON. No. I am very much obliged to the Senator for connecting my name with the very honorable epithet of honest, but I am not such a doctrinaire as to be a free trader. I believe in a very liberal tariff, but I do not believe in one for the protection of any particular business at the expense of everybody else.

Mr. DEPEW. That means that you are in favor of a tariff for revenue only?

Mr. BACON. The Senator has expressed it with absolute accuracy.

Mr. DEPEW. And that is free trade?

Mr. BACON. No; it is not. It has no relation to free trade. They are as far awide as the poles.

Mr. DEPEW. The relationship is so near that it would take a genealogist to describe the difference.

Now, in that admirable speech of his he defends the South. The South needs no defense. In the North to-day, wherever

you may find the northern man of to-day or the northern woman of to-day, there is nothing but fraternal feeling; and, more than that, admiration for the courage and the sacrifice of the South during the civil war for their ideas, under conditions which to any other people than ours would have been absolutely hopeless.

As the Senator says, the South was handicapped so that she could not make her arms, she could not clothe her people, she could not do any of the things necessary for her, except as she got them from the outside.

Mr. BACON. Mr. President, the honorable Senator will pardon me, but I said no such thing.

Mr. DEPEW. Substantially.

Mr. BACON. I did not mean to even imply any such thing. On the contrary, I said that the resources were ample, but that the odds were 5 to 1 against the South, and that the resources there were in the course of a merciless and bitter war absolutely destroyed.

Mr. DEPEW. My memory is at fault. That was the statement of the Senator from Massachusetts. Now we have come to the point I wished to make just now. All her industries were destroyed, all her property of a personal kind was destroyed, her houses were burned, her stock was gone, and she had the bare land to start anew on.

Now, accepting that, suppose there had been no protection, would capitalists have been found in the South for industry, especially for the cotton and iron industry?

Mr. BACON. What is the Senator's question?

Mr. DEPEW. Suppose there had been no protection upon cotton and iron as protection, would capitalists have been found in the South or elsewhere for the cotton and iron industry?

Mr. BACON. Mr. President, if the Senator will permit me to reply, there certainly has been no protection as to the production of cotton.

Mr. DEPEW. I mean the manufacture of cotton.

Mr. BACON. And cotton has not been produced——

Mr. DEPEW. I mean the manufacture of cotton and iron.

Mr. BACON. Well, Mr. President, the manufacture of cotton and iron in the South has grown up after the prosperity had been restored there, but their agricultural products, far from having any assistance from the protective tariff, bore an onerous and grievous burden all the time that they were thus restoring prosperity. The manufactures of the South have been the result of the wealth which has been dug out of the ground by the agriculturists of the South, and without any aid either from the protective tariff or, generally speaking, from any other source outside of their own energy and their own perseverance and labor.

Mr. DEPEW. The manufactures of the South in 1880 were \$450,000,000; in 1900, \$1,450,000,000; and in 1908, \$2,000,000,000, in round numbers.

Mr. BACON. And, Mr. President, all that magnificent growth and development is the surplus profit which has been piled up by the southern people in the prosecution of their agricultural interests at a time when they have borne a most tremendous tax to the manufacturing producer under the protective tariff, when they themselves were receiving no reciprocal benefits from it.

Mr. DEPEW. Now, if that view of the Senator is correct, and if his view is correct that no capital has come in from outside sources, and these manufacturing developments have been wholly by the profits of agriculture in the South, then the profits of agriculture in the South must be beyond anything ever known in agricultural production and in surplus income anywhere in the world. For instance, from 1865 to 1880, when the South is acknowledged to have had no personal property, there was \$250,000,000 capital put into manufactures.

Mr. BACON. Mr. President, what is \$250,000,000 to a section that makes \$800,000,000 worth of cotton and its by-products a year? Of course, when I speak of the agricultural industry, mercantile and other kindred industries grow up with it, and there are reciprocal benefits between those who produce the cotton and those who furnish other things upon which the men who produce the cotton must live.

As I have said, it has been the result of the agricultural industry, and, of course, other industries have accompanied it, but they have been the industries of our own people. If the Senator will figure a little, and not despise figures, as he indicated just now he would be prone to do, he will find that the cotton crop of the South has not only enriched the South and that out of its profits have grown these immense industries of other kinds, manufacturing included, but he will find if he will examine the balance sheets that but for that cotton and but for that agricultural profit which has been made in spite of the protective tariff and not through any aid of it, the balance of trade would have been frequently against the people of the United States.

Mr. President, the cotton crop sends out of this country something like five hundred million dollars a year which is the equivalent of gold, and it brings back into this country either actual gold or keeps gold from going out of the country by furnishing bills of lading, which stand for gold.

Mr. ALDRICH. Will the Senator permit me to ask him a question?

Mr. BACON. With pleasure.

Mr. ALDRICH. What is it that makes the marketing of that great cotton crop of the South possible?

Mr. BACON. The world's demand for it.

Mr. ALDRICH. It is the industrial prosperity of the world, and the industrial prosperity of the United States is the one important and controlling factor in that prosperity.

Mr. BACON. Mr. President, the prosperity of the United States is not the factor which makes the demand of the world for cotton.

Mr. ALDRICH. If you will look at the statistics showing the consumption of cotton in the United States, you will find that we are the great and important factor in the consumption of the cotton of the South.

Mr. BACON. Between two-thirds and three-fourths of the cotton of the South is exported for the consumption of the world—of the whole world.

Mr. ALDRICH. Yes; but \$73,000,000 of that comes back to the United States in the form of manufactured goods, every dollar's worth of which should be produced in the Southern States.

Mr. BACON. Oh, well, what may be done is no matter, but what is \$73,000,000 compared with this \$500,000,000 that comes back in gold for the raw product? If I am not intruding on the Senator from New York, I will say that of course I do not underrate the importance of manufacturing. I am proud of the manufactures of the South. The three States, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, manufacture, I will not say the most of, but much the larger portion of the cotton that is manufactured in the South, and my State is close up to the other two, South Carolina being in the lead and North Carolina following, and Georgia being behind them. In general manufacturing, the money product of Georgia leads the others. But, Mr. President, the manufacturing industry of the South has been the product and the result of the agricultural prosperity of the South, and it is not due to the protective tariff.

Mr. ALDRICH. Mr. President, one other question. Where would the price of cotton be to-day if you should lose the American market, the market of the producers of the United States, of the men who are employed in the mills and upon the farms of this country? Does the Senator think the cotton growing in the South would be prosperous if it were to depend entirely upon the foreign market?

Mr. BACON. For what?

Mr. ALDRICH. For purchasers.

Mr. SMITH of South Carolina. Let me ask one question. Will the chairman of the Finance Committee state where the price of cotton is fixed?

Mr. ALDRICH. The price of cotton is fixed in the markets of the world and it is fixed by the law of supply and demand. Of that demand the United States furnishes by far the most important portion.

Mr. BACON. Mr. President, if there was not a bale of cotton spun and woven in the United States there would still be the demand for it and there would be the same price of cotton.

There has got to be a certain amount of manufactured cotton. If it were not manufactured in this country, it would be manufactured in another. I am not speaking about the question whether it is to our advantage to have any manufactured here. I am speaking of the question whether the manufacture of cotton here increases the price of the staple of the raw cotton. The world requires more than 13,000,000 bales of cotton to clothe the people of the world in garments that are made out of cotton.

I will not trespass further on the time of the Senator from New York. It is unjust.

Mr. DEPEW. Mr. President, to continue one moment. As I said, from 1865 to 1880 the South got \$250,000,000 of capital in manufactures, from 1880 to 1890 she found \$650,000,000, from 1890 to 1900 she found \$1,150,000,000, and from 1900 to 1908, \$2,100,000,000. It would make the farmers of the world stand up and listen if told that that \$2,100,000,000 came from the surplus profits of agriculture in the South, by which in that brief period people who had no money and no personal property to begin with could give to manufactures such fabulous capital.

Mr. GALLINGER. And, Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Will the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from New Hampshire?

Mr. DEPEW. Certainly.

Mr. GALLINGER. If we did not have a tariff on the finished product of cotton, and foreign countries were supplying us with cotton goods, as they did in the early days, what would become of the \$2,100,000,000 now invested in cotton manufactures in the South?

Mr. DEPEW. I believe that if the protective principle was taken out of our legislation the cotton industries of the South would disappear.

Mr. GALLINGER. Of course they would.

Mr. DEPEW. And with that would come a paralysis of all industries of the South. I believe that if this protective principle was taken out of legislation, instead, as the Senator from Georgia believes, the agriculturists contributing from their surplus for the support of other people, they could do

nothing for them, and the iron and coal industries of West Virginia and of Alabama and of Kentucky and of Tennessee would be destroyed.

Mr. BACON. If the Senator will pardon me, I wish to make a statement, in order that what I have said may not be misunderstood. When I speak of the manufacturing industries of the South being solely the representative of the profit upon the agricultural industry of the South, of course I do not mean that absolutely the clear profit made is the only money which has been invested in those industries. Of course the people of the South have utilized their land and other property, which has resulted from this agricultural prosperity as a basis for credit to secure money which they have invested in manufacturing enterprises. Money has been borrowed, but borrowing money by our own people upon satisfactory security is a very different thing from money being sent in by others for investment.

Mr. DEPEW. Repeal the protection upon cotton and you wipe out the manufacturers in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Repeal the protection upon iron and the phenomenal progress and development of Alabama, Tennessee, and West Virginia will cease. I do not wish to differ with my friend from Georgia, but it is hard for me to understand, if his statement is correct, that the South found its own capital for these manufacturing enterprises, where a purely agricultural people, who had no personal property in 1865, got two hundred and fifty millions of capital in 1880, six hundred and fifty millions in 1890, one billion one hundred and fifty millions in 1900, and two billions one hundred millions in 1908 and that none of it was contributed from outside sources. The profits of cotton must be beyond precedent.

My friends from Florida, I think, state as fairly as any of the Senators on the Democratic side the Democratic position, which is, that they wish the idea of protection to be entirely eliminated from the schedules and that the tariff should be based upon the Walker doctrine of only sufficient revenue to yield the sum required for carrying on the Government. Upon that basis the junior Senator from Florida made a most elo-

quent appeal on behalf of a revenue upon pineapples, not for protection, but purely for revenue. Under the schedule proposed by Florida, the duty upon pineapples will be raised to 128 per cent. The distinguished Senator, in the course of his eloquent remarks, said the nerves of the human anatomy were gathered at the base of the spine, and an injury to the base of the spine attacking the whole nervous system led to the paralysis of the entire body. In the anatomy of our country, with the head in Maine, the base of the spine, as he believes, is Florida. Then, a failure to put 128 per cent, not for protection, but for revenue, upon pineapples would lead to national paralysis. We will take care of pineapples, but not on a revenue basis. Under the practice of protection, the national nervous system will be unimpaired.

New York is the largest manufacturing State and has the greatest variety in the product of her mills and her factories. I have been in receipt of at least a hundred letters a day for months and have had at least a thousand of my constituents here upon these questions. They have been the manufacturers and the employees, men and women, in the factories, and the farmers and the people of the localities in which these manufacturing industries are located. There is almost unanimity of sentiment that they are all consumers as well as all producers.

The 30,000,000 people who are in gainful pursuits, eliminating those who are single, and giving an average family to those who are married, make up nearly the entire population of the United States. In their living as well as in their prosperity they are absolutely dependent upon each other. None of them can live by himself and no occupation can exist by itself. It is the interdependence of the industries of our States which constitutes the strength of the American people and the wealth of the American Union. I was asked by Mr. McKinley in 1896 to make campaign speeches through the wheat and corn belts of the West. I found the farmers everywhere looking to free silver or any other panacea for relief from their condition. Wheat was 60 cents and corn 15 cents a bushel. Upon that they could not meet the interest upon their mortgages and they had

difficulty in paying their taxes and there was no market for their horses and cattle. Why was there this condition among the farmers? We had a larger population in 1896 than we had in 1890 when they were prosperous. It was because the experiment of modified free trade had closed the factories and turned 3,000,000 wage-earners in possession of jobs to 3,000,000 out of a job and out of money. In other words, the farmer had lost his market because the consumer had lost his job.

We have had since 1897 phenomenal prosperity, employment, and wages, the farmers now getting a dollar and twenty-five cents a bushel for wheat and sixty cents for corn, and there is an open market for their stock. The farmers have paid off their mortgages, they have large surplus in the banks, and they are enjoying a prosperity such as has never been known by any agricultural people in the world and never known by our farmers before. It is because protection has created the market, has created the money maker, has created the money spender, and has demonstrated the interdependence between the farm and the factory and between the producer and the consumer. The rise in the cost of living is not in rents, clothes, boots and shoes, or railroad travel, but it is in food. To suppose that under these conditions the farmers of the country believe that under this principle they are burdened and oppressed in order to support their fellow-countrymen who are engaged in other pursuits and who, by being engaged in these remunerative pursuits, are their consumers and customers, is absurd.

I have admired the Senate all my life. The giants of the early period—the great triumvirate, Webster, Clay, and Calhoun—created the sentiment that this is the most august assembly in the world. But their speeches, wonderful in their literature, covering exhaustively a wide range of subjects, very platitudinous and lengthy, would not command a Senate of to-day. They are devoid of humor, and humor is necessary for a modern statesman. The thoughtful and thoroughly prepared speeches delivered during this session are worthy the best efforts of the greatest reputation of the Senate and more interesting.

An income tax has been urged by the Senators from Texas [Mr. BAILEY], Iowa [Mr. CUMMINS], and Idaho [Mr. BORAH].
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It is advocated with great ability and a great array of precedents is cited to support their contention, and the answer of the Senator from Utah [Mr. SUTHERLAND], who has just taken his seat, has been most able and conclusive.

The whole question rests upon these words of the Constitution:

Direct taxes are to be laid in such a manner that each State shall bear a proportion of the whole tax equal to its proportion of the whole population.

In rendering the opinion of the court in the Pollock case, Chief Justice Fuller summed up his conclusions as follows:

Our conclusions may therefore be summed up as follows:

First. We adhere to the opinion already announced that taxes on real estate, being indisputably direct taxes, taxes on the rents or income of real estate, are equally direct taxes.

Second. We are of opinion that taxes on personal property or on the income of personal property are likewise direct taxes.

Third. The tax imposed by sections 27 to 37, inclusive, of the act of 1894, so far as it falls on the income or real estate and of personal property, being a direct tax within the meaning of the Constitution, and therefore unconstitutional and void because not apportioned according to representation, all those sections, constituting one entire scheme of taxation, are necessarily invalid.

The object and aim then of these long speeches which are as able as any ever delivered at any time in this body are to have the Senate reverse the Supreme Court. It is better when a decision of the court of last resort is against the judgment of counsel to present to the public what the counsel would have said if he had been a judge than to adopt the remedy which Judge Grover, of our New York court of appeals, said was the only one left for the defeated attorneys and that was to go down to the tavern and curse the court. One Senator wishes distinctly to challenge the Supreme Court with the idea that the argument and decision in the Pollock case will be reversed. Another Senator wishes to have it introduced as a principle in our political economy, even if the tariff is to be reduced in order that there may not be an excess of income over expenditures.

Unless, as in war times, there is an absolute necessity for an income tax, it is the most direct possible attack upon the protective system. The only way in which the surplus revenues it would produce, and which are not now needed, could be taken care of, would be either a horizontal reduction of the tariff to

bring the revenues down to the expenditures or else to enter upon a bacchanalian saturnalia of extravagance.

No one has been able to refute the conclusions of the Finance Committee that the bill under discussion will yield several millions in excess of expenditures. It is claimed that the income tax will produce between sixty and eighty millions of dollars annually. This would create a dangerous surplus and impose a burden for no other purpose than to establish a theory. A theory which will cost the taxpayers of the country, and, in the analysis of distribution, all the people, \$80,000,000 which the Government does not need and for which it has no use, is the most expensive educational propaganda ever exploited. It has been suggested by its advocates that the tariff could be reduced to meet the excess caused by the income tax, but a reduction would lead to larger importations and greater revenues and at the same time take our American market from our own workers and give it to their foreign competitors. On the other hand, if a prohibitory tariff was adopted to decrease customs revenues, that would defeat the Republican doctrine of competition with protection and create monopolies.

There is one point which strikes me in the question as to whether the fathers in forming the Constitution intended that the clause providing that direct taxes should be apportioned among the States according to population referred only to revenue from land and not income from personal property. The Constitution was a compromise between the large and populous and the small and sparsely populated States. The small States demanded that in some way they should be protected. The device to protect them was that, regardless of their population, each State should have in the Senate practically two ambassadors with equal vote and equal power. There was as great disparity then as there is now between the States of large population and those of smaller population. The taxing power and its destructive possibilities were thoroughly understood, and the great States of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Georgia never intended that they should be outvoted and made to bear undue burdens because of the votes in the Senate of the smaller States. There are 15 States with 30 Senators in

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this body whose aggregate population differs only a few thousand from that of the single State of New York with two Senators. New York has one-seventh of the property of the country. It has one-twelfth of the population. Yet, under an income tax, it would pay 33 per cent of the burdens of the Government. It is absurd to suppose that with the States rights views that existed among the statesmen of the formative period and in the constitutional convention they ever intended that any system should prevail which would distribute so unequally the burdens of the Government among the various States.

There is another view which strikes me very forcibly and which has not been presented. The time has come to draw the line between the sources of revenue for the Federal Government and those which shall be left with the States. The Federal Government has unlimited opportunities for revenue through the customs and by internal-revenue taxation of almost limitless varieties and by other methods. The States must deal directly with their people. I was talking a few days since with the Hon. Edwin A. Merritt, chairman of the committee on ways and means of the lower house of the New York legislature, who expressed alarm at the inheritance and income taxes being absorbed by the Federal Government. The expenses of the States, with the public improvements which have become necessary by the extraordinary development of the last quarter of a century, are increasing in geometric ratio.

When I was chairman of the committee on ways and means in the lower house of the New York legislature, forty-six years ago, a tax levy of \$8,000,000 would have led to a political revolution. The tax levy this year is thirty-seven millions, and it has increased from twenty-two to thirty-seven within the last decade. There was levied in the State of New York in 1907 by direct taxes—that is, city, village, county, and town—\$180,942,341.27, and by indirect tax, \$32,339,707.49, making a total of direct and indirect taxes of \$213,282,048.76. A direct tax for State purposes has been abolished in our State. The State government is carried on by indirect taxation. This came because of the enormous burdens of local taxation, amounting to \$181,000,000 a year. Our indirect taxation comes from taxes on

corporations, organization of corporations, inheritances, transfers of stock, traffic in liquor, mortgages, and racing associations, according to the following table:

Tax on corporations-----	\$8,581,223.44
Tax on organizations of corporations-----	391,423.18
Tax on inheritance-----	5,435,394.97
Tax on transfer of stock-----	5,575,986.64
Tax on traffic in liquor-----	9,697,504.24
Tax on mortgages-----	2,442,249.73
Tax on racing associations-----	215,925.29
Total-----	32,339,707.49

It is evident from this that, with the budget five millions more than the amount raised from these sources last year, the State must soon find other sources of revenue. Several States have already adopted an income tax. No one would advocate that there should be double taxation by the General Government and by the States, for the burden would be intolerable. It seems to me, therefore, that it is a fair claim on behalf of the States that this direct contact with their citizens by inheritance and income taxes should be left to their administration.

My colleague, Senator Roor, clearly and ably answered the question the other day as to whether the property owners bore a substantial part of the burdens of the Government by proving what they paid and its percentage in the country as a whole. This New York tax levy, I think, is a close and up-to-date illustration of the same point from our own State. I know from personal experience with the estates for which I am counsel that real estate located in the best parts of New York City pay to-day double the taxes which they did eight years ago and without any increase in rents. The effect of this is that the income from real estate in New York is nearer 3 than 4 per cent.

The taxes on railroads in the State of New York are first upon their real estate, at full value, in the several towns, then a franchise tax, then a tax upon capital stock, then a tax upon bonded debt, gross earnings, and dividends. In the case of the New York railroads which pay dividends, this amounts to over 15 per cent of their net income. Of course this is an assessment upon the income of the stockholders to that amount.

The income and expenditures of the Government can be calculated for a series of years to come with almost mathematical certainty. I have heard no criticism which successfully controverts the conclusions of the Ways and Means Committee of the House and the Finance Committee of the Senate. Including pensions, 55 per cent of our total expenditure is on account of war. Expenditures are not likely to increase as fast as revenues, and there will necessarily come in the course of nature, now that forty-four years have passed since the close of the civil war, an annual decrease in pension appropriations. The civil expenditures are entirely in administrative control.

All European nations are burdened with gigantic national debts. These debts are the inheritances of great and little wars. Our national debt has been so reduced since the civil war that it is a negligible quantity compared with our resources. We should enlarge the national debt, not for war but for the most beneficent purposes of peace, if we are to enter upon a proper policy. We have begun on the right course in the Panama Canal by borrowing the money for its construction. It is proper that posterity should bear their proportion of a burden of which they are to be the principal beneficiaries. If we enter upon, as we will in the future, an intelligent and thoroughly prepared scheme of inland waterways, that also should be done by the issue of long-time bonds, for posterity again will be the beneficiaries and ought to bear their share of the burden.

We are all in receipt of letters and resolutions of commercial bodies in reference to the creation of a permanent tariff commission. The Senator from Indiana [Mr. BEVERIDGE] and the Senator from Nevada [Mr. NEWLANDS] have ably and eloquently presented the affirmative of that proposition. They base their argument largely upon the success of the Interstate Commerce Commission, but there is no analogy between the duties performed by and the obligations which rest on the Interstate Commerce Commission and those which would devolve on a permanent tariff body. It is the nature of a commission to seek to enlarge its powers and to exploit its beneficence. A permanent tariff commission, with a permanent lobby representing the 2,000 items in the tariff bill and backed by the influence of the

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Senators and Members from the States where these particular industries are located, would keep alive what the country most deprecates and most fears—a perpetual tariff disturbance. Pass some law quickly and adjourn is what the country wants.

I believe in the scheme outlined by our Committee on Finance of creating from the experts of the Government, who are familiar with every phase of this question and in constant touch with its administration, a body within the existing departments which can inform the President, Congress, and the Secretary of the Treasury of the inequalities as they arise in the practical application of tariff duties, so that without agitation, without an eternal tariff war and a perpetual tariff lobby, with all that means in the disturbance of business, an effective and noiseless machinery would be automatically solving problems as they arise. Such a commission would meet the criticisms upon the ambiguity of the law and the mistakes in its administration, which were so ably presented in the speech of the senior Senator from Iowa.

I noticed in the papers of this morning that William J. Bryan and Governor Johnson, of Minnesota, deplored yesterday the situation of the Republican party. They said that if this tariff bill as suggested either by the House or Senate committee became a law it would lead inevitably to the election of a Democratic House of Representatives two years from now and the Senate and the Presidency to follow four years from now. The tears which they shed should have been caught after the manner of the Pompeians, in a glass bottle, and preserved in the archives of the Smithsonian Institution. I am sorry for the progressive brethren of our own household who are lamenting with great earnestness the impending ruin which they are so fearful will follow if they fail to have their way. I say to our distinguished Democratic sympathizers with Hamlet to the ghost of his father, "Rest, rest, perturbed spirit."

Mr. President, the country wants speedy action upon this subject. In all the phenomenal times of prosperity of the past none of them equal the present in its opportunities and its promise. Large contracts for important construction are held

up, the stocks of the merchants are depleted, the storehouses of the manufacturers are empty, the supplies on hand have been used up, and no new production undertaken for fear of the result of the action of this Congress.

The impatient horses attached to the car of progress and prosperity are held in with difficulty, because of their impatience to enter upon the Marathon race of production and development. The fate of parties in power depends upon the effect of their action on the country. If because of this bill, when perfected, becoming a law we enter, as I believe we will, upon another decade surpassing in its beneficent results that which began with the Dingley tariff, popularity will follow prosperity and the party can confidently rely upon the judgment of the people.



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THE FINANCE COMMITTEE OF THE
SENATE AND THE PEOPLE

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
OF NEW YORK

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JUNE 15, 1909



WASHINGTON
1909

S P E E C H
OF
HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, having under consideration the bill (H. R. 1438) to provide revenue, equalize duties, and encourage the industries of the United States, and for other purposes—

Mr. DEPEW said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: In regard to this matter and the Committee on Finance, the bitter attack just made upon it by the Senator from Nebraska seems to be the culmination of a criticism that has been running against the committee since it presented its tariff report to the Senate. The charge has been made as to the unfair constitution of the committee and the way it has been formed, and that charge has been repeated often to the Senate; and now the charge is made that it is playing petty politics in regard to this matter of the duty on Philippine cigars and in other ways.

As to the Philippine measure, while I do not know the personal views of the President, we all of us have read the declarations which he made both before he became President and since, growing out of his intimate knowledge of Philippine conditions, for the largest possible measure of free trade between the Philippine Islands and the United States. He has frequently declared such a measure most important for the welfare

and uplift of the Philippine people and their loyalty to the United States.

I had no doubt, when this matter was presented by the Finance Committee, that it was substantially in agreement with the views entertained by the President, because they were the views he has so often expressed. Only the proposition of the Committee on Finance was less in what was granted to the Philippines than what the President had repeatedly said he thought would be good policy in the development of those islands and the creation of friendly relations between the Filipino people and the United States.

In regard to this particular proposition, just before the Senator from Wisconsin offered his amendment to reduce the cigars imported free from 150,000,000 to 75,000,000, the president of the Cigar Makers' Union of the United States interviewed me on the subject. He told me the views of the Cigar Makers' Union and the condition of its members as to nonemployment, and said that what they wanted was to reduce the number of cigars imported free to 75,000,000.

I want to say, if the Senator from Wisconsin had not offered the amendment to reduce the number of cigars imported free from the Philippines, I would have done so. The president of the union is a New Yorker, and there are more cigar makers in the State of New York than in any other State in the Union.

In regard to the charge that the committee reduced it from 75,000,000 to 70,000,000 to play politics against the Senator from Wisconsin, it was the demand of the Senator from Connecticut, who had been speaking here for several hours and who represents a great tobacco State, that the number should be reduced from 75,000,000 to

70,000,000. I want to say that I appealed to the committee personally, because of this presentation that had been made to me by the Cigar Makers' Union, to have the number reduced to the lowest possible figure which would satisfy the Executive and the friends of the development of the Philippine Islands. So much on petty politics.

Now, sir, it has been charged that this committee has been unfairly formed, and one of the best posted of the correspondents of the great newspapers in the gallery, who are so keen and clear on all matters, said to me the other day, when I explained to him how the committee had been formed, that with his long experience here he had not thoroughly understood it, because he had not had occasion to look it up. I think it had better go into the RECORD just how the committees of the Senate are formed so that the country may know whether we are dominated by one-man power and by an automatic and self-constituted committee.

How are the committees of the Senate formed? This being a continuing body, we make new committees every two years, when one-third of the membership is changed. Then, sir, the officers of the caucus, elected for the previous two years, cause a notice to be sent to all Senators on the Republican side asking them to meet in the Marble Room for the purpose of organization. When we met there were 59 chairs. There are now 59 Republican Senators. Those chairs have no names upon them. There is no assignment of seats for Senators of prominence or long service. Everything is informal and free. Every Senator can take any seat he pleases, and if it so suits him he can take a front seat, where he can be most conspicuous. There are no rules

ship to 14, of whom nine are Republicans. To select nine from the great number of applicants was a problem difficult for this committee on committees to solve. They accomplished the task and reported the result of their conclusions to the caucus, and it was a very full caucus. There was the opportunity again for any Senator to charge that the committee was unfairly made up; that the country, in its different parts, was not properly represented. There was one such protest in the caucus, but the Senator making the protest did not criticise the committee except to claim that his own State ought to be represented on it. He did not, however, make a motion or ask for a vote.

Therefore the committee as suggested by the committee on committees received the vote of every Republican Senator who was present in the caucus. But if any Senator was dissatisfied with the committee, he still had another opportunity, because that committee was reported to the full Senate, in order that the Senate might vote whether that committee should stand as the Committee on Finance or whether it should be changed in any particular. On that vote the committee was accepted by the Senate by the unanimous vote of Senators on both sides of the Chamber. So that the committee stands before us having been at least four times unanimously indorsed by the Republicans or the joint votes of both sides.

I understand the same process exactly is pursued by the minority Members of the Senate in the recommendations they make as to who of their number shall go upon committees.

My colleague and I represent a State which has a great variety of interests. I think the statistics show that New York is the largest manufacturing State in the Union and has more varied productions than any other State; and my colleague and I, representing those interests, both the employees and the employers, have not hesitated to go day by day to the committee in order to present the claims of these industries in New York for their consideration, and in many instances we have succeeded in placing before them views and testimony from people directly interested which have led to a modification in rates which the committee had reported to the Senate upon particular items in this bill. We have found the committee, even when disagreeing with our views, eminently open-minded and courteous.

Now, as to the charge that this committee is discredited in this body, how are we to judge? How are we to know and how is the country to know whether this committee is discredited? Votes talk louder than speeches. We have been told here repeatedly that the people of the United States are hostile to this committee and the bill they have reported and recommended. We have been told here repeatedly that only the Senators who oppose the committee and their work know what is the opinion of the people of the United States. We have been told here repeatedly that every Senator who supports this committee is marching headlong to political destruction, and he does not know it; the only people who know it are the critics of the committee. If that be so, then the Senate is the most extraordinary suicide club which has ever existed. There have been here—taking the wool schedule, which it was said was the real test of popular feeling—practically 51 Repub-

lican Senators supporting the committee and 8 Republican Senators opposing the committee; 8 Senators only with salvation free, and 51 going headlong and heedless to oblivion; 51 not knowing the sentiment of their own States, and 51 ignorant of what the people of the country think and want, and only 8 fully enlightened.

When I look at the electoral college, which selected the President of the United States and you, sir, for the high offices which you adorn—both of you—I discover that the total electoral vote is 483; necessary for a choice, 242. Taking the wool schedule, upon which there was the greatest controversy, the Republican Senators voting to support the committee represented 294 electoral votes, or a majority of 52 of the electoral college, and yet the country has been repeatedly informed by several of the 8 Republican Senators who antagonize the committee that they have a knowledge of the wishes, the opinions, and the desires of the people which is not possessed by the Senators supporting the committee who represent a majority of 52 in the entire vote, Republican and Democratic, of the electoral college. President Taft received 303 electoral votes; so that 294 is within 9 votes of Taft's phenomenal majority. If we take the highest vote cast against the committee by these Republicans on the most important schedules, they represented 55 in the electoral college, while the Republican Senators supporting the committee represent 272.

Now, sir, this committee has had duties to perform greater than any that have fallen upon any other committee during my ten years in the Senate. I was not here during the consideration of the Dingley bill, but it strikes me that the framers of that measure had an

easy task compared with the framers of this bill. The committees of the two Houses which prepared the Dingley bill met when a terrific industrial disaster had overwhelmed the country, and the people believed that it was due to the Democratic tariff measure which was then in force. The demand of the country upon that committee was to protect the industrial interests of the United States. The demand of the country upon the committee was that the action of that committee should be protective—protective everywhere—to give employment to labor and employment for capital. The difficulty that committee had to contend with was not to put rates up or down, but to restrain the eager desire of the whole community for rates so high as to be prohibitive in their practical application. The action of the committee in this easy process was sustained point by point by the concurring opinion of a distressed country.

But now we meet in the midst of great prosperity for the purpose of revising the schedules which have been eleven years in existence. The development of the country during that period has been such in many lines of industry as to require changes. I doubt very much—and I have many sources of information and travel about the country almost as much as anyone—the strength of the demand originally which led the national convention to put the revision plank in the platform, and I believe, sir, that if that plank had not been in the platform Mr. Taft would not have lost a single electoral vote and that his phenomenal popular majority of over a million would have been just as great.

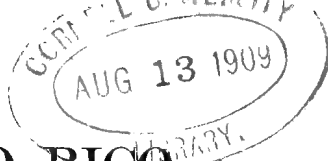
But it was put into the platform, and in obedience to that promise the Committee on Ways and Means

of the House of Representatives met immediately after election, in the early part of November. They continued their work until March, and I think into April, and then the work with all the testimony which had been taken, filling 13 large volumes, with the discussions which had been given to it in the public press, came to the Senate, in a large measure perfected, and then the Finance Committee of the Senate had to undertake on their part to meet the requirements of the country first for revenue and next for protection.

I have been a member of many committees, and the older Senators are familiar with the hard work of committees. They know that there are Members of this body whose names rarely appear in the RECORD, but who have their monuments in the statute books; many Senators who rarely appear in debate, and do not appeal to popular prejudice or popular passion, who are working day and night with an energy, with an industry, and with an intelligence, often impairing their health, giving their best time and mind to what they believe, though knowing they will get no individual credit for it, is for the best interests of the country.

Knowing as I do from intimate study of the action of this committee and of its results, I believe that no committee intrusted with so great a labor and so tremendous a responsibility has ever more faithfully, intelligently, and patriotically performed its work.





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PORTO RICO

The effort of the House of Delegates to revolutionize the Government and coerce Congress by refusing to pass appropriation bills and the legislation necessary to maintain government and order in the island.

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

OF NEW YORK

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FRIDAY, JULY 9, 1909



WASHINGTON

• 1909

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

The Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, having under consideration a bill (H. R. 9541) to amend an act entitled "An act temporarily to provide revenues and a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes"—

Mr. DEPEW said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: On the 11th of May I introduced a bill to amend an act entitled "An act temporarily to provide revenues and a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes, approved April 12, 1900," substantially the same as the one which passed the House and is now reported by the Senate Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico. It was impossible to have action taken by the Senate under the rule which prohibited any matters being considered except the tariff bill until that was disposed of. The House, however, awaiting the action of the Senate, passed the present bill which is now under consideration. There is an immediate necessity for the passage of this bill. The fiscal year of the government of Porto Rico ends on the 30th of June. At that date their appropriations were exhausted. It has been the custom for appropriation bills to be passed by the two houses. This year the house of delegates refused to pass the appropriation bills, though there was no objection to the provisions in them, unless the upper house would consent to legislation which practically changed the government of the island. The upper house could not consent to these measures, nor to a situation under which a practical revolution would be brought about, unless an agreement was had upon laws which were against the unanimous judgment of the upper house and in violation of the organic act known as the "Foraker Act." This can be altered or amended only by the Congress of the United States. Under these conditions President Taft recommended in his message of May 10 to the Congress that the same provision should be made for Porto Rico that is in the organic acts for the Philippines and Hawaii. In the Philippine and Hawaii acts, if the legislature fails to make the annual appropriations necessary for the conduct of the government, the appropriations for the previous

year become automatically the law. Of course, the moneys are collected and in the treasury before the end of the fiscal year available for the ensuing one, so that under the operation of this provision in the organic act of these two territories there is no possibility of the operations of the government being suspended by an effort of the lower house, which is a native house, to hold up the government in order to force undesirable, or for that matter desirable, legislation.

This bill provides that the same process shall be available in Porto Rico as exists in the organic acts of the Philippines and Hawaii. In other words, if, as in this case, the house of delegates refuses to pass any appropriations unless they can have other legislation, or for any other reason, the provisions of the appropriation bills of the previous year become applicable in payments to be made for all purposes for the current year.

There is one other provision in this bill which the President considers very essential. Now the Porto Rico authorities report to four different departments of this Government. This makes unnecessary labor and delay when the President wishes to get any definite information. He must first ascertain in which department it is, and it may be in several. Under this bill such reports will hereafter be in the Bureau of Insular Affairs, thus making the process uniform for all our insular possessions.

A brief review of the circumstances and conditions in Porto Rico will explain the origin of this bill. The treaty with Spain, under which Porto Rico was transferred to the United States, was ratified on the 10th day of December, 1898. Under the provisions of the act known as the "Foraker law," which passed April 12, 1900, the government of the island consisted of a governor, a secretary, an attorney-general, a treasurer, an auditor, a commissioner of the interior, and a commissioner of education, to be appointed by the President, and to hold office for four years, respectively. With the exception of the governor these six officers, with five others, to be appointed by the President, who must be native inhabitants of Porto Rico, constitute the executive council. A legislative assembly was created to consist of two houses, one the executive council, and the other the house of delegates of 35 members, elected biennially. For the purpose of election Porto Rico is divided into seven districts. A vote of two-thirds of the legislative assembly overrides a veto by the governor.

Mr. CULBERSON. Mr. President—

The VICE-PRESIDENT. Does the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Texas?

Mr. DEPEW. Certainly.

Mr. CULBERSON. I understood the Senator to say that the council, which, as I understand, is one of the legislative bodies of Porto Rico, is composed of six Americans and five natives.

Mr. DEPEW. Five Porto Ricans.

Mr. CULBERSON. Five Porto Ricans. I will ask the Senator how many of those six Americans are officeholders?

Mr. DEPEW. All of them. They are the executive officers of the island, with the governor.

Harmony has existed between the executive council, which is the upper house, and the house of delegates, so far as legislation is concerned, until 1908. At this last session the house of delegates refused to pass the appropriation bill unless the executive council would consent to certain radical legislation.

There are 26 municipal judges elected by the people and 44 justices of the peace appointed by the governor. The demand was that the justices of the peace should be abolished and the number of municipal judges increased to 66. There is no call whatever for municipal courts to this number. It was purely an effort to secure more offices for the dominant party and to have these judicial officers under the control of the executive committee of that party.

The house also demanded the creation of counties in the island, which is not desired by the majority of Porto Ricans. This was to provide for more offices.

They demanded also the establishment of a manual-training school. This was for the purpose of taking out of the hands of the commissioner of education the administration of the education of the island and putting it in the hands of local officials. Under the organic act the commissioner of education has entire charge of all matters pertaining to the education of the people, and if a bill had passed the house of delegates and the executive council and been signed by the governor it would have been *ultra vires*.

They demanded an agricultural bank with two millions of dollars of capital to be loaned to the people of the island. There were no funds available, nor were there any means by which these two millions of dollars could be secured.

They demanded the creation of industrial and professional schools of the arts and trades. This also was a violation of the organic act, which provides that the commissioner of education "shall superintend public instructions throughout Porto Rico, and all disbursements on account thereof must be approved by him." This was a further effort to get more patronage and offices for Porto Rican politicians.

In the effort of the house to reorganize the judiciary by abolishing the justices of the peace and appointing 66 municipal judges, they provided that appointments must be given to such persons as belonged to the political party obtaining the majority of votes in their respective municipalities during the last elections of November 3, 1908; that the governor must appoint the candidate suggested to him for such office by the superior committee of the political party. The bill further provides that the marshals and officers of the courts shall be selected in the same manner, and where the governor had to fill vacancies he must act under the direction of the political committees of the dominant party. The house of delegates made a more strenuous demand for this bill than any other, and insisted that this measure was the sine qua non without which no appropriation bills would be passed. The object of this bill was to do away with the courts presided over by persons appointed by the governor, and to have these courts in the hands of judges selected at the dictation of the party leaders. The judiciary system of the island has worked very well since the civil government was organized. It is independent and able. Under this bill there would have been substituted for it a scheme which would wreck any judiciary system anywhere.

Another claim which they made was that when a mayor of any municipality died or was removed, instead of his successor being appointed by the governor, he should be elected by the municipal council. The mayor is elected by the people. The objection to this was that in case the mayor and the common council were equally corrupt and the mayor removed because of maladministration that his confederates should not select another of the same kind. But the house of delegates refused to accept any suggestion which would prevent the common council from acting in this way.

In order to still further coerce the governor and the council the house struck out of the appropriation bill the provisions for the payment of jury and witness fees and traveling expenses of the United States district court; they reduced the salaries of that court not fixed by Congress 90 per cent; they struck out all provision for the publication, as provided by law, of the Official Gazette; they attempted to change the whole system of property assessment by substituting boards in the assessment districts controlled in each locality by three assessors chosen by lot from the 20 largest taxpayers; they made a horizontal reduction of 5, 10, and 15 per cent in all other salaries not fixed by Congress. Under the organic law of the island the

council has the sole power to fix these salaries, so that this action of the house was also beyond their authority.

The legislature of Porto Rico assembled on the 12th day of January, 1909. On the evening of that day, and before any trouble of any kind had arisen between the house and the executive council, the members of the house held a caucus. All the members are of one party—the Unionist party. But the caucus was a joint caucus, because the members of the house invited to their deliberations the central committee of the party. The object of the caucus was to formulate a policy for the whole session. At this joint caucus the following resolution was proposed, but after discussion was considered too radical, though there was a general assent to its provision:

The house to abstain from the introduction of any bills and to indefinitely postpone all bills of the council, declaring, if necessary, that it adopts this attitude because it considers that the Foraker Act is a tyrannical yoke imposed on Porto Rico, and that the house is a figurehead, whose laws are not even complied with and are in practice of no account and useless.

As a substitute this was unanimously adopted:

1. That at all costs it is necessary to act energetically against the existence of the Foraker Act, which destroys the personality of Porto Rico, and against the manner in which the central officers are applying it.

2. That, however, resort should not be had to any act of systematic opposition, and it should only be understood that the house adopts a position of irrevocable independence.

3. That the house of delegates ought to vote and support laws of an automatic character for the entire life of the country, to enter upon a severe criticism of the administration in its distinct services, and utilize the political means that it possesses to the end that those laws shall be approved and the administration corrected in an effective manner.

Following this nom of conduct the central committee and the house will do whatever circumstances require, and always within legal means, making all possible sacrifices.

A committee was sent here from the house of delegates to see the President and Congress. They stated that this meant that there must be a change in the government of the island, or, as far as the house of delegates could affect it, a revolution. The leaders of the Unionist party who hold every seat in the lower house claim that this has been their contention for ten years.

The three commissioners sent here by the house of delegates to take up these conditions with the President and Congress presented a written communication in which they said:

The undersigned, as representatives of a people in servitude, beg of you, their representatives of a free people, that before casting your vote in Congress on the question of Porto Rico you read these short

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pages and be convinced that we are simply asking for our rights and appealing to your sense of justice.

They also added :

One million souls are living in Porto Rico in an unbearable state of tyranny under the folds of the American flag.

One of their claims was that under the Spanish decree of 1897 they had greater liberty, autonomy, and self-government than since the island passed under American control. This decree of 1897 was made by the Spanish Government, to apply to Cuba and Porto Rico, in hopes of preventing or stopping the revolt against the Spanish authority, which had assumed formidable proportions. Henry K. Carrol, special commissioner to Porto Rico, in his report of December 30, 1898, said :

This constitution was promulgated in Porto Rico on February 11, 1898, but was never fully installed. The war intervened, and the provincial legislature, which was its most important feature, was dissolved when Sampson's fleet appeared, and the governor-general conducted the government practically on the old plan.

As a matter of fact, the Porto Ricans never had any autonomous government or individual liberty, as we understand it, under the Spanish Government. Their government was changed every few years, according to the recommendation of the governor-general, or the desire to accomplish some purpose there or elsewhere by the Spanish Government. The royal decrees of September 12, 1870, of January 4, 1883, and of March 15, 1895, all changed the form of government in the island. Another law was passed December 31, 1896, which repealed all former provisions and laws relative to provincial government. The laws and constitutions of 1895 and 1896 gave a legislature to the island of twelve members, called the "provincial deputation." The governor-general, however, was supreme and had the power to suspend the orders of this assembly and to suspend the members themselves, and a deputy so removed by him could not be reelected until after six years. When the governor-general suspended a deputy he had the power to fill the vacancy with any person who had previously held the office by election. This provincial deputation, or assembly, had no power over the budget. They were authorized to prepare the appropriation bills, but were compelled to forward them to the governor-general three months before the commencement of the fiscal year. If the governor-general disapproved, the whole matter went to the colonial secretary at Madrid, and his decision was final. But there was another provision in this organic law of 1896 which reads as follows :

If the budget should not be approved at the beginning of the fiscal year, the previous budget shall remain in force in its necessary parts.

This provision of automatic continuance of the budget out of the revenues collected for the ensuing year has been in force under the Spanish Government of the island since 1870. Under this decree or constitution of 1897, which the commissioners who came here claimed gave them so much greater liberty than they now enjoy, the Spanish Government retained the ultimate power over the revenues. They reserved the right to the Spanish Cortes of declaring what expenses should be made and of fixing the amount every three years. This so-called liberal grant of 1897, which is now appealed to by the Porto Rican commissioners as a charter for them from the Spanish Government of autonomy and liberty greater than they now enjoy, was a pretense and a pretext from the beginning. There was a string to every privilege and every right in the firm hand of the Spanish governor-general, of the colonial secretary at Madrid, and of the Spanish Cortes. The revolution had assumed such proportions in Cuba, and disaffection in Porto Rico was becoming so dangerous, that this was a sop intended to blind the Cubans and the Porto Ricans without conceding any Spanish right, and every right which was conceded was subject to nullification and recall by the Spanish governor-general and the home authorities.

This at once raises the question as to what the United States have done for this island since its occupation. They have, under the Foraker Act, which is their organic law from the American Congress, a provincial legislature elected by the people. They have the right to make their own budgets and their own appropriations, subject only to their approval by the Council, of whom five are native Porto Ricans. Under this bill we do not take away this right. We simply legislate, as we have legislated in the organic laws of our other insular possessions, that if they do not provide a budget or appropriations to carry on the government, the budget of the preceding year, a budget which was passed unanimously by the house of delegates, remains in force for the current year. Before our occupancy of the island this scheme had been always in force under the Spanish rule. There is no doubt if the house of delegates had confined their attention to the appropriations and not attempted to make them a medium to carry revolutionary legislation, there would have been no difficulty in having the appropriation bills agreed to between the two houses.

In the Porto Rican congress of the two houses 6 are Americans and 40 are natives. We have turned into their treasury about three millions of dollars in cash, the amount of duties which were collected in the United States on Porto Rican prod-

ucts after the Spanish evacuation, and from the time of our taking military possession in 1898 until their organic law of 1900 gave to the island free trade with the United States. By giving free trade to Porto Rico we have surrendered \$15,000,000 annually which would be otherwise collected upon Porto Rican products imported into the United States. This free trade and surrender of revenues on the part of the United States places the island of Porto Rico, in regard to its products of sugar and tobacco, in an immensely superior position industrially and commercially to Cuba and the other West India islands. When the cyclone swept over the island a few years since and worked great havoc among the coffee plantations, the Government of the United States made to the people of Porto Rico a present of \$200,000 to relieve the situation. The United States pays out of its own treasury the whole cost of the Porto Rican regiment, and also the harbor improvements, the marine hospital, the weather bureau, the maintenance of agricultural experiment stations, the revenue vessels, the light-house service, and the coast surveys. Porto Rico is the favored territory of the United States. Imports going into Porto Rico are subject, of course, to the same duties under the Dingley Act as imports from foreign countries passing through the custom-houses of any other port in the United States. The revenues derived from this source amount to a million dollars a year. This is the average. In 1906-7 they were \$1,138,555, and in the following year \$979,990. These duties are paid into the Porto Rican treasury for purely Porto Rican purposes, though they belong absolutely to the Treasury of the United States. The internal-revenue taxes collected in the island amount to \$1,917,000. These taxes, which belong to the Treasury of the United States, are also paid into the treasury of Porto Rico for local purposes in the island. Thus the United States surrenders from its own Treasury three millions a year for the support of the Porto Rican government. There is a tax levied upon the property of the people of the island which yields about \$1,200,000 a year. This, less 10 per cent, which is the cost of collection, is remitted to the various municipalities for expenditure by the local governments for their local and municipal needs and requirements. This fund of three millions a year out of the Treasury of the United States certainly should have the supervision of the council, or upper house, and of the governor. It is virtually a gift by the United States to improve the condition of the people of the island, and not to be made the sport of politics and of factions. The neighboring English colony of Jamaica is governed by one house, of whom the majority

is appointed. There is no doubt that except for the supervision of the council, composed of the secretary, the attorney-general, the treasurer, the auditor, the commissioner of the interior, and the commissioner of education, and five native Porto Ricans of the highest standing and character appointed by the President, this large contribution of the United States for schools, good roads, and the general welfare of the island would be distributed among the municipalities, as the fund collected by taxes in the island is, and largely squandered and misappropriated.

There never has been any question until this last year, between the house of delegates and the council as to how this contribution of the United States of three millions of dollars annually should be appropriated. There is no charge of any kind against the efficiency or the integrity of the United States officials in the island. On the contrary, the committees of both houses who appeared before the committee of the Senate testified to the integrity and ability of these officials. The beneficent effect of this annual contribution of the United States upon the people of the island is a romance as well as a reality of the uplifting power of the American Government.

In the matter of education, under the Spanish rule, the island had an attendance of 21,000 pupils in 551 schools of the most primitive character. To-day there are 2,400 schools, with an attendance of 114,367 students. In the last year of Spanish rule there was spent for school purposes \$35,000. During the year just closed of American rule the appropriations for schools were \$1,146,619.

The macadam roads of the island have been increased in our nine years of occupation from 172 to 624 miles. In other words, during the four hundred years of Spanish rule there were constructed 172 miles of macadam roads. These roads were mainly for military purposes, while the American roads are to bring the farmer to the market and to develop the resources of the island. While four hundred years under the old rule gave to the island 172 miles, nine years of American rule have duplicated that 172 miles and added 452 more.

Under the old régime one regular Spanish steamer a month supplied all the commercial facilities of the island. There was an occasional call from a French or German steamer, but it was not part of the commercial facilities which could be relied upon. Now, instead of one monthly steamer, there are fourteen monthly American steamers.

In the agricultural section of the island land has risen from ten to one hundred dollars an acre. Wages have increased everywhere. Every township now has a good road to the sea,

and the roads are connecting towns with each other. Bridges are built where there were formerly fords and ferries, which in the rainy season could not be used. The roads have reduced the cost of transportation to the farmers from \$1 a hundred pounds a mile to 20 cents.

An American engineer with an efficient corps is perfecting an irrigation scheme which will relieve the sugar cultivation from the periodical droughts to which it is now subject.

In January, 1899, the Medical Corps of the Army undertook to overcome smallpox, which was devastating the island. Of the 1,000,000 inhabitants, 800,000 were vaccinated, and smallpox, which was the most destructive of epidemics among the people, was practically eliminated. There had always existed in Porto Rico a disease called "tropical anemia." Seven hundred thousand of the 1,000,000 inhabitants of Porto Rico were chronic sufferers from this trouble, called *uncinariasis*. Eighteen per cent of all the deaths were due to this anemia. The capacity for labor of the people of Porto Rico on this account was reduced 20 per cent. Dr. Bailey K. Ashford, an assistant surgeon in the Army, accurately determined the nature of this disease, and it was found to be preventable and could be cured, except in advanced cases. There were 11,875 deaths due to anemia from 1900 to 1901, and in 1908 there were only 1,785. Of the 81,375 patients treated for *uncinariasis* in 1908 only 93 died. I do not think in the records of any population in the world has there been accomplished in the same period of nine years the eradication of two such deadly diseases, causing such frightful results upon life and upon industries as in this relief to these people from smallpox and anemia.

We can not too frequently recall the fact that the cost of this marvelous medical service, the building of these good roads, the installation of this irrigation plant, and the creation, extension, enlargement, and maintenance of the public schools have been paid out of federal taxes belonging to the United States and not out of local taxes assessed upon the people of the island.

Universal suffrage has been granted to all male inhabitants of the island above the age of 21. If the franchise were restricted to those who could read, there would be less than 50,000 qualified voters, but in the last election for delegates over 150,000 votes were cast.

The island of Porto Rico is 108 miles in length and from 37 to 43 miles across, and contains 3,600 square miles, a little less than one-half the size of the State of New Jersey.

According to the census of 1900, the population consisted of 589,426 whites and 363,817 colored.

In the annual report for 1899 of Gen. George W. Davis, the military governor, the population is given as 960,000, or 260 to the square mile. He says: "Nearly 800,000 could neither read nor write. Most of these lived in bark huts and were in effect the personal property of the landed proprietors. They were poor beyond the possibility of our understanding, and if they were so fortunate as to have enough for the current hour they were content." Later, in describing the effect of the hurricane of 1899, he says: "A population of nearly a million souls, not less than one-quarter of which was already suffering from chronic starvation * * *." As I have already stated, to relieve that Congress appropriated and gave to the island \$200,000.

From General Davis's report I make the following extract, which describes the conditions in the island and of its inhabitants at the time we took possession. It is an illuminating exhibition of the poverty, illiteracy, and morality of the people as we found them:

In any country where more than one-half of the population is continually on the verge of starvation or are pinched by hunger; where labor, when employed at all, is remunerated only to the extent of from 20 to 35 cents per day; where thousands upon thousands are unable to secure work at any rate; where only 10 or 15 per cent of the inhabitants can read and write; where the ordinary standards of public morality are largely ignored; where half the children are illegitimate; and, finally, where the functions of the government have been used to discourage, repress, or prevent initiative and the people have no knowledge of any duty or obligation but to obey the orders of the governing classes; it would be strange if, under such conditions, murder was unknown and pilfering, stealing, and plundering were uncommon. Let it be supposed that under conditions such as are recited a government of repression should be suddenly relaxed and for it another substituted, which these ignorant people have heard of as one under which freedom is the predominating characteristics, it would be still less strange if, when released from restraint, the tendency to lawlessness should greatly increase and a reign of terror should take the place of a reign of oppression.

Dr. Lyman Abbott, a most careful, conscientious, and intelligent observer, recently visited the island. He went to every part of it and thoroughly investigated conditions, social, economic, and political. He conversed with sugar, tobacco, and coffee planters, with business and professional men and the politicians. He is very emphatic as to the immense improvement which has been made in the island since American occupation in every department which makes for the uplift and welfare of the people. He pays a high tribute to the manner in which American officials have conducted the government, and says that there is prosperity never known before and general

content and satisfaction except among the politicians. He gives this picturesque comparison:

In November, 1493, Columbus landed for water at Aguidilla, on the western coast of Porto Rico. A monument marks the spot where he filled his water cans. A mile below, in the town subsequently built upon the shore of the sea, the villagers continue to this day to come night and morning to this same stream to fill their water cans. The waterworks of Aguidilla in 1909 are practically identical with those of 1493. The fact is typical.

While there are a great number of cases like this of the waterworks of the time of Columbus being still the waterworks of localities, nevertheless American government is rapidly eradicating these conditions and bringing the island generally and its townships and municipalities rapidly up to American standards.

In other words, no progress had been made in the betterment of the conditions of the people in the promotion of industries or in the development of production in four hundred years of Spanish occupation. I have recited what has been done in nine years of American occupation in education, in sanitation, in good roads, and in other respects; but the influence of American legislation, association, and phenomenal generosity is evidenced by the industrial progress in the island. With industrial progress has come its attendant of better housing, better living, larger intelligence and happiness, health, and comfort.

In 1901 the value of the sugar exported from Porto Rico was \$4,700,000; last year it was \$18,600,000, an increase of about four times. In 1901 there were 100,000 acres devoted to sugar; now 195,000, or double the acreage. In 1901 the value of the tobacco was \$681,642, while last year it was \$5,401,195, or an increase of about eight times in the nine years. The value of the coffee grown in 1901 was \$12,157,240; last year it was \$35,245,480, or an increase of three times in the nine years. The value of all the fruits which were exported in 1901 was \$93,000; last year their value was \$1,159,420, or an increase in this industry in the nine years of over ten times. The imports and exports of Porto Rico in 1901 were \$17,951,190; last year they were \$56,470,151.

I do not believe that in the administration of any other old settled and almost overpopulated community, like that of Porto Rico, such a change as this can be shown. It would be marvelous in a new country which offered rich opportunities and whose newly discovered wealth had led to a great inflow of enterprising settlers, but this marvelous growth in every department which counts for prosperity, wealth, good citizenship, homes, schools, and happiness in one of the oldest and the most thickly

populated communities of the Western Hemisphere in less than a decade is a tribute, than which none could be higher, to the American government and administration and the uplifting power of American liberty.

Porto Rico has a federal district court which commands the respect of all the people of the island, irrespective of party. Its local judiciary of five supreme court judges was praised for ability, integrity, and judicial fairness by all parties who appeared before the committee. The American officers, the governor, the secretary, the treasurer, the auditor, the attorney-general, the commissioner of education, and the commissioner of the interior are all gentlemen who had made their mark in the United States in their profession and in the public service before they were appointed to their present positions and who have moved with their families and made their residence in Porto Rico. They have learned the Spanish language and have, as individuals and officials, the confidence of every citizen and of all parties.

The whole of this trouble grows out of an anxiety on the part of a few who are in control of the political parties. With 90 per cent of the electorate illiterate, with generations of autocratic government behind them, emotional, suspicious and easily influenced, it is not difficult for men with special talent in that direction to exercise over them a large, if not dangerous, influence. The Unionist party, which now has gained all the offices and has every seat in the house of delegates, desires for the government of the island an autonomy something like that of Canada, where there will be a nominal governor from the United States, but the legislative and judicial branches shall be in the power of the people of the island. The Republican party has for its platform the creation of Porto Rico into a State and its admission to the Union. Every authority, official and general, which has visited the island and studied the conditions are united in the opinion that as yet the people are not ready for such a government as is desired by the one party, nor for admission to statehood as is demanded by the other.

Having been familiar all my life with party leaders and party bosses, I pay tribute to the gentleman who absolutely controls the Unionist party for having displayed a skill in securing a power and maintaining it which places him in the front rank of political leaders. He dominates the house of delegates, having nominated all its members. They do not even decide upon legislation without publicly summoning him and his executive committee to their deliberations, and in reaching out for the control of the local judiciary under a bill which would

compel the governor to appoint those nominated by him in every locality he would have under his control not only the legislation of the island, the appropriation bills and the expenditures, the offices and the salaries, but also the administration of justice and the decisions of the courts. This little island is too small for such executive genius. No pent-up Utica of constitutional authority should circumscribe the activities of talent so superior in political management. With a free hand in a South American Republic, he would become a figure of international importance.

There may be amendments required to the so-called Foraker Act, which is the organic law. It would be strange, after some years of administration and with such phenomenal progress as has been made, if conditions had not arisen which would require changes in the act, but they can come in the proper and orderly way at the regular session of Congress. With this temptation to secure power of the purse to promote legislation, desirable or undesirable, patriotic or selfish, by revolutionary methods removed we can confidently anticipate the two branches of the legislature will act as heretofore in harmony, and the peace and the prosperity of the island be preserved, promoted, and continued.

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**The Resources of the Country
and Its Prosperity Under
Republican Policies**

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

OF NEW YORK

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MONDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1909



WASHINGTON

1910

SPEECH
OF
HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

Mr. DEPEW. I ask that the President's message be laid before the Senate.

The VICE-PRESIDENT. The message of the President will be laid before the Senate for consideration.

Mr. DEPEW. Mr. President, the message of the President of the United States, communicated to the two Houses of Congress at the beginning of the second session of the Sixty-first Congress, on the 7th of the present month, concluded as follows:

Speaking generally, the country is in a high state of prosperity. There is every reason to believe that we are on the eve of a substantial business expansion, and we have just garnered a harvest unexampled in the market value of our agricultural products. The high prices which such products bring mean great prosperity for the farming community, but on the other hand they mean a very considerably increased burden upon those classes in the community whose yearly compensation does not expand with the improvement in business and the general prosperity. Various reasons are given for the high prices. The proportionate increase in the output of gold, which to-day is the chief medium of exchange and is in some respects a measure of value, furnishes a substantial explanation of at least part of the increase in prices. The increase in population and the more expensive mode of living of the people, which have not been accompanied by a proportionate increase in acreage production, may furnish a further reason. It is well to note that the increase in the cost of living is not confined to this country, but prevails the world over, and that those who would charge increases in prices to the existing protective tariff must meet the fact that the rise in prices has taken place almost wholly in those products of the factory and farm in respect to which there has been either no increase in the tariff or in many instances a very considerable reduction.

Notwithstanding this clarion note of satisfaction and hope from President Taft, who speaks with authority from a recent visit to nearly all parts of the country, and from the reports of officers of the Government in close touch with every department of American industry, production, and finance, the country is burdened by an unprecedented amount of pessimistic prophecy in relation to our future. We are told that the tariff which passed at the close of the extra session in August last has raised the price of the necessities of life, and is essentially a measure for revision upward instead of downward. The daily and weekly press and the magazines are filled with articles predicting a failure in the near future of our food

and fuel supplies. This feeling of pending peril is also voiced in the coordinate branch of this Congress. Such views are most untimely on the eve of Christmas. They make melancholy those choicest days of the year, the holiday season. I desire therefore to spread upon the record, if I may, a few beams of sunshine, and to prove, which I think can easily be done, that the American people have before them as merry a Christmas as has ever fallen to their lot.

I am in receipt of the Christmas number of the magazine of the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin. He has an advantage over his colleagues in having two organs, the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and the La Follette Magazine. The rest of us can appeal to the people only through the RECORD, to which all have access, while he has equal opportunities in the official publication and owns and holds the key to his journal. His holiday greetings are severe criticism for the President and myself. I thank him heartily for the great honor of this association. In wafting to the Senator and editor the good wishes of the season, I trust that when, after his Christmas dinner, his hands are clasped soothingly over the resting place of his Christmas turkey, his sleep will be blessed with happy dreams for 1912, and his digestion unimpaired because his heart, like mine, will be free from envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness.

Now as to the tariff. The problem which Congress had primarily to face in framing the tariff bill was to find additional revenues sufficient to meet the deficiency in the Treasury. After five months of exhaustive examination by experts in the government service, by testimony from manufacturers, merchants, and people interested in every department of American industry, the tariff bill was perfected and became a law.

After the House of Representatives and the Senate had acted and the differences between them were in conference, the conferees appealed to the President. Mr. Taft at once took up all the questions involved with that thoroughness, impartiality, and candor which made him one of the best judges in our judicial history. The tariff bill has been viciously assailed, and its provisions have been subject to more glaring misrepresentations than any other enactment in this generation. The same tactics were employed by Democrats, free traders, revenue theorists, and disgruntled Republicans against the McKinley bill when it was enacted in 1890. The elections came before the practical workings of the measure could demonstrate the falsity of these attacks, and the Democrats elected a President and both Houses of Congress. Their first effort was to revise the tariff, and the result was what is known as the Wilson-Gorman bill. Follow-

ing its passage and the effect it had upon American industries and labor, we had one of the most severe panics in our history. Out of this distress came the triumph of McKinley, with a majority in both Houses and the passage of the Dingley bill, under which we have lived and prospered since 1897.

During that period there was an increase in the value of American manufactures of over twelve hundred millions of dollars, and an increase in the number of workers in every department of American industry from 26,350,000 to 34,000,000. The extraordinary feature of this is that under our economic system we have been able to find remunerative employment for this addition of 7,650,000 who required employment at paying wages. There has been an increase during the same period of 50,000 manufacturing establishments, working in 368 different industries, offering employment in new industries developed by protection which did not exist when the Dingley bill was enacted.

The increases in the new tariff are almost entirely in luxuries. The increase in alcoholic compounds, toilet preparations, and the like will yield an additional revenue of \$200,000; high-grade glass, \$150,000; automobiles, bullion, metal threads for fancy ornamentations, pearl-handled knives, and things of that description, \$100,000; hops, figs, imported dates, and grapes, \$500,000; the spirit and wine schedule, including champagnes and imported liquors, \$4,000,000. The only increase in cotton was upon very high-grade goods, and this will yield \$200,000 additional. There will be \$500,000 additional gathered from high-grade manufactures in flax, hemp, and jute, and about \$200,000 in the increase on the finest silks. There will be about \$150,000 additional from an increased duty on cigar labels and embossed paper and ornamental things of luxury made from paper. There will be \$2,000,000 additional growing out of the increased tariff on ostrich feathers, imported ornaments, hat ornamentations, and articles of personal adornment which only the rich can buy and use. On all these articles, which do not enter at all into common consumption and which are wholly a matter of luxury, there will be an additional revenue of \$15,000,000, without any burden whatever upon the average consumer, or what Lincoln called the "plain people."

In the new tariff there have been 500 reductions of rates, covering thousands of articles. The increases have been about 100—almost entirely, as I have said, in articles of luxury. In agricultural implements, like wagons, mowers, binders, harrows, rakes, plows, cultivators, thrashers, and drills, there has been a uniform reduction of 25 per cent. In red and white lead for paint, in varnishes, glazed brick, earthenware and china in

common use, and common window glass, there has been a reduction of from 10 to 33 per cent. Bar iron used by blacksmiths has been reduced 50 per cent, and so have steel rails, while on steel beams and girders for buildings, hoop and bar iron, barb wire for fences, bolts and nuts, knives and forks for table use, spikes and nails, horseshoes, muleshoes, tacks, brads, saws, screws, sewing machines, typewriters, all of which are necessary for house-building, business and domestic purposes, the duties have been reduced from 12 to 50 per cent.

Oilcloths and linoleums for floors have been reduced from 9 to 38 per cent, and oilcloths for tables, and so forth, 40 per cent. The duties on bituminous coal have been reduced 33 per cent; print paper, 37 per cent; hats and bonnets, 20 per cent; boots and shoes, 40 per cent; sole leather and belting, 75 per cent; leather for shoe uppers, 25 per cent; gloves for ordinary use, 30 per cent; harness, saddles, and so forth, 55 per cent. In addition, we have let in Philippine and Porto Rican sugar free and retained the 20 per cent advantage for Cuban sugar. In lumber necessary for cheap houses there has been a reduction of 50 per cent on part and from 30 to 37 per cent on the rest. Fence posts have been made free, and laths have been reduced 20 per cent. It will be seen here that in everything which enters into the life of the farm and the building of a home and to its furniture there has been a very marked reduction from the duties in the Dingley bill. Petroleum and all its products have been made free.

Summing up the whole matter, the tariff under the new Payne law has been decreased from the Dingley rate on imported goods valued in round numbers at \$5,000,000,000, while the tariff has been increased on goods, other than liquors and luxuries, valued at only \$241,000,000 in round numbers. If manufacturers, middlemen, wholesalers, and retailers do not absorb these reductions in the tariff, these articles in common use should be much cheaper to the consumer. Now, what will be the effect upon the consumer? The National Clothiers' Association says that it must add \$3 to \$12 suits and \$5 to \$20 suits because of the increase in the cost of cloth on account of the tariff. There has not been a penny's increase in this tariff, either in wool or in the cloth. The cloth in a \$12 suit costs \$3, and the duty on the wool would be 75 cents. The cost of the cloth in a \$20 suit is \$5, and the duty on the wool is \$1.25. As there has been no increase this year in wages, rentals, buttons, thread, and other things which make up a suit of clothes, it is evident that if an advance is made it must be an additional profit to the manufacturers and retailers of ready-made clothes. The reduction on

boots and shoes will amount to from 30 to 50 cents a pair to the manufacturer.

Of the \$15,000,000 of additional revenue gained from the increase of tariff duties upon liquors and luxuries, about one-half is lost again in the reduction of the tariff from the present rate upon the necessities of life. But when we add to the additional revenue upon these articles the nearly \$10,000,000 more which is to come from tobacco, and from \$25,000,000 to \$30,000,000 which is to come from the corporation tax, and the still additional income which will come from prosperity and greater purchasing powers, our revenues will be in excess of expenditures and the Government on "Easy street."

If we are to retain the protective system, with its underlying principle of maintaining American industries and the American standard of wages and employment for American workingmen, and have markets for our ever-increasing productive power, this Taft-Payne-Aldrich law is the fairest, the most equitable, and the most beneficent tariff bill which has been passed in our history. It will have had fifteen months of operation before a general election, and in that time will have demonstrated its value. There has been an increase in the cost of living during the last ten years. The same thing is true in all highly organized industrial countries. There has been little increase in the cost of clothing or rentals, and none in transportation. The increase has been mainly in the cost of food, which makes up so large a proportion of the expense of a family averaging five or more members. Wheat was selling at the time of the enactment of the McKinley bill at 65 cents a bushel. It now brings \$1.20 at the farmers' doors. Corn was selling then at 15 cents a bushel and it is now bringing 65 cents. Beef on the hoof was then selling below the cost of production—I think about 4 cents a pound—and now it is selling at 7½ cents. These are the principal articles which enter into the food of the family. Tariff people believe that this increase is due to the enormous advance in the demand because of the purchasing power of the American people from remunerative employment due to protection.

If, as the statistics apparently prove, there were 3,000,000 out of employment, and with little or no purchasing power for themselves and their families, in 1896 and 1897, and they have been reemployed and employment found for all those who had work at that time and 7,650,000 additional, it will at once be seen where this greater demand has given higher prices to the farmer, though his cost of production has not been increased at all. So far as the farmer is concerned in this tariff, while reductions have been made, as I have cited, in almost every-

thing which he uses, the tariff on his wheat, corn, oats, rye, beans, onions, potatoes, flaxseed, butter, cheese, poultry, cattle, horses, sheep, milk, eggs, and hay has remained the same as in the Dingley bill, except the slight raise in some of these products.

Democratic objectors to the tariff complain that the schedules are not reduced to the old-fashioned Democratic doctrine of tariff for revenue only; at the same time, in the articles in which their own States are interested, they have generally demanded the highest duties known in the bill, claiming, however, that it is not for protection, but for revenue—as pine-apples, for instance, at 128 per cent increase. The Republican insurgents admit that there has been a reduction downward in the tariff duties from the rates in the McKinley bill, but they complain that it has not gone far enough in articles which are produced in other States than their own, but in the articles in which their States are interested it has gone too far.

They complain still further that during the five months the bill was under consideration they were not able to understand all its provisions, nor had time to inform themselves in regard to the justice or the injustice of the schedules in the bill. They denounce the Republican majority which supported the Finance Committee in its conclusions, the conference report, and perfected bill, and are specially hostile to, and critical of, this law, which meets the judgment of eight-tenths of the Republicans of the House of Representatives, eight-tenths of the Republicans of the Senate, and has the emphatic approval of President Taft, who did so much to bring about the conclusions which were asked for and expected by the American people. The difficulty with the insurgent Senators is that while they had a case, or thought they had, when shouting so long and so loudly for revision downward, after the Chief Executive of the United States secured such radical reductions and then set his seal of approval upon the law as revising downward according to party pledges and popular expectation, they must necessarily, while still opposing the measure, include President Taft in their criticism and denunciation.

We of the majority, marching under the leadership of our President, have no explanations to make, because we know the beneficent results which have already been experienced and believe that greater will follow. The operations of the new tariff law will be the most eloquent speech which could be delivered in its behalf and in justification of our votes. But our insurgent friends must explain and, so long as their critical attitude is unchanged, keep on explaining why they are more intelligent, more virtuous, and more public spirited than the

official leader of their party and the great majority of their political associates in the two Houses of Congress.

The difference between my insurgent friends and the majority is that, while they were the largest contributors to the 9,776,000 words in the tariff speeches in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and contributed hardly a line to the tariff law, we who supported the bill stayed in the kitchen with the cook and know exactly not only the ingredients, but the amount of each and the time required for perfection in the cooking of a cake which will be enjoyed this Christmas by the whole American people, and the cake will be larger and richer with each recurring anniversary.

With the passage of the new tariff bill, we enter upon a period of prosperity unknown in the history of this or any other country. From results gathered by careful examinations all over the country, there will be an increase in the production of winter wheat, spring wheat, corn, oats, barley, and rye in 1909 over 1908, in round numbers, of one thousand one hundred and sixty-nine millions of bushels, or 27 per cent, and that 27 per cent increase is in comparison with a normal year. There will be an increase in the hay crop in the same period of over three and a half millions of tons. The following summary of crop reports, not including cotton, will give some idea of the situation:

	1908.	1909.	Difference.	Per cent.
	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>	<i>Bushels.</i>	
Winter wheat.....	437,908,000	451,175,000	13,267,000	3
Spring wheat.....	226,694,000	301,427,000	74,733,000	33
Corn.....	2,668,651,000	3,419,287,000	750,636,000	28
Oats.....	807,033,898	1,119,061,000	311,967,102	38
Barley.....	166,756,000	188,431,000	16,675,000	10
Rye.....	31,851,000	33,443,000	1,592,000	5
Total.....	4,338,953,898	5,507,824,000	1,168,870,102	27
Hay.....	70,862,596	74,441,146	3,578,000	5.5

When we take into consideration the prices which this enormous product of five thousand five hundred millions of bushels is bringing, which will all be additional riches from the soil, the imagination is appalled at the new wealth which is to come to the country. To absorb and pay for this vast production the mills must be running, the factories on full time, the mines opened, and the transportation companies crowded with freight. This tariff is the efficient instrument to bring about these results.

I have been a close student of industrial conditions in the United States and other countries for more than fifty years. I have read with much interest the alarming opinions given by
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able men in regard to future conditions in the United States on food and fuel supplies. There seems to be a consensus of judgment among these gentlemen that unless very radical measures are taken by the Government, the States, and the people generally our situation at the end of the next fifty years will be deplorable. My investigations, observations, and experience lead me to opposite conclusions. The country was never so prosperous in every way as it is to-day, and we will be able to meet the needs of an increasing population in the future as we have steadily done in the past. The greatest fear of these writers is the exhaustion of our natural resources, the wastefulness of our agriculture, and the end of our coal and iron. The anthracite coal deposits will undoubtedly be used up within the next sixty to seventy-five years, but there is no limit to the bituminous. The enormous resources of Alaska have not yet been touched, and mining has only scratched great veins in many of the States and Territories. While the pessimist says that our coal will last only one hundred years, I read recently a very complete analysis of our possibilities from scientific geologists and coal experts which put the limit at three thousand years. If it is only a thousand we need not worry.

If our forests had been destroyed at the rate of timber cutting prior to fifteen years ago, the predictions of the alarmists would have been realized, but the present policy of conservation can not be reversed. Reforestation will be conducted on a large scale, and in the older sections of the country there is a care of trees never known before, and interest with education concerning them is constantly growing. Germany and Switzerland find their wood supply sufficient for their needs because of scientific conservation and cutting. With an adaptation of the methods which have proven successful in these old countries by our own Forest Service, the danger which was seriously threatening us twenty years ago has been averted. We have to-day more merchantable timber, proportionate to the population, than either Germany or Switzerland or France. We not only have entered upon, but have developed an intelligent forest service. It is fiercely fought by lumbermen, who wish to make all there can be in a single generation, and by politicians in the States where the forest reserves are mainly located, but the fact that these forests are among the best, the most productive, and the most beneficent assets of the whole people of the United States is becoming so well understood that no administration and no party can survive an attempt to invade these rights.

Now, as to the food supply. The same fears have been common in Great Britain and on the Continent for three hundred

years, but each generation has found the means to live better than its predecessor. Invention and machinery applied to manufactures not only saved agricultural England from starvation when its farmers failed to produce enough to feed one-tenth of the population, but it drew from other countries a better and more varied food supply than the people had ever known before, and enabled the artisans to live upon a higher scale of comfort than their brethren who worked in the field.

Soon after the Franco-Prussian war Bismarck, in a conversation with a friend of mine, said that the peril of Germany was the German cradle; that the increase in population was much more rapid than the possibilities for employment or the production of food; that there would be a most perilous congestion unless territories could be won for colonization. That view was entertained by most of the statesmen and political economists of Germany at that time. Germany, under this belief, annexed a large portion of the continent of Africa and put the Monroe doctrine in imminent danger by encroachment upon American territory in South America. The present Emperor developed another policy. It was to stimulate manufactures, intensify agriculture, and promote by every species of government aid foreign commerce. The result has been that in thirty years Germany, with more than double her population, is supporting them better than at any previous period in her history.

The wastefulness of our people is simply a weakness of our common human nature. Very few of us will work except under the spur of necessity. It is a rare man or woman who loves work for its own sake. Few of us will endure continuing hardships or privations to accumulate property. Live to-day and let to-morrow care for itself is the general practice. When our transportation system by rail and water became perfected, it brought about the following results: We had an enormous area of unoccupied productive land belonging to the Government. To earn a living, educate the children, and pay taxes upon a farm in the older States which cost from \$60 to \$100 an acre became difficult. Conditions which would have been luxurious for a farmer in Europe called for unaccustomed work and privations from us. The sons and daughters of the farmers found that they could move cheaply to new lands, upon which, with less exertion, they could raise more than their fathers did on the old homestead, while their interest charge was on \$1.60 an acre instead of \$100, and their taxes proportionately less.

The sons also found that they could get their products to market from their practically free farms almost as cheaply as

their fathers could in the older States. There was no spur of necessity to learn or to practice scientific agriculture, because the opportunities for emigration and settlement could be endlessly repeated.

Free land is now practically exhausted; therefore, say our pessimistic philosophers, the perils of failure of occupation and of food supply are imminent. Modern history demonstrates that, given the conditions of a free people, each generation finds means for taking care of itself. In other words, improved methods rarely precede their necessity, but accompanying the narrowing of free acreage has come the enlargement of the work of the Agricultural Department at Washington, the establishment of experiment stations by the States, and the distribution of agricultural schools and colleges all over the country.

A friend of mine, a railroad man, looking forward to retirement from the hard work of his profession, bought a farm in Iowa. The ancestor of the owner received it from the Government at a dollar and sixty cents an acre. He had his own living and that of his family out of the farm, and with its proceeds brought up, educated, and started in life his children. The son who took the farm for his portion repeated the same thing, only he had to work harder and had to replenish the exhaustion of the soil. The grandson did the same thing, but neither lived so freely nor had so much leisure as his father or his grandfather; but while he had to work harder he also worked far more intelligently than either. He made up his mind to retire, and sold his farm for considerably over \$100 an acre. The magazine writer on railroads would call this increment on the land an outrageous watering of the stock if it had come to a pioneer in railway construction. Now, the railroad man who was brought up on the farm and went from the plow to the train dispatcher's office, and from there to the presidency of a great system, will apply to that farm the scientific methods which are at the convenience of every farmer of the country from the Agricultural Department and the agricultural stations and make it produce twice as much as it ever did before. If the owner had remained in possession, increasing taxes and their burdens would have stimulated him to do the same thing.

In the philosophy of life an enormous majority of people require the spur of necessity before they acquire habits of industry or their ambition is aroused. We as yet, happily, have not felt the prick of the spur to any appreciable extent.

I was through the West in 1894 when from overproduction and other causes all the products of the farm were selling for
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less than cost. Now the farmers are richer than ever in our experience, with fewer mortgages and more money in the banks, because industrial conditions create a demand which is responded to in prices.

In going through France this summer I was impressed more than ever before with the Frenchman's utilization of every foot of ground. There is no idle soil. The French farmer is the banker of Europe. He has loaned to Russia a thousand millions of dollars and enormous sums have come from his stockings and gone into government and municipal securities and promotions in Algeria and the French colonies. Start from New York and ride by daylight to Washington, and then by daylight again on to Jacksonville, Fla., and so on to Key West, and one will see idle land and agricultural opportunities enough to support, under proper care and cultivation, a population as large as that of the Middle States. The reason that land is not occupied and made as productive as the farms of France is because no necessity has yet arisen. No demand has come from the market which would induce the immigrant to settle, work, study, and economize. Belgium is the most thickly populated country in the world. Her agriculture is infinitesimal in proportion to her needs, and yet her food supply is sufficient to her wants. Our farmers are getting more and more away from the hand-to-mouth methods which were sufficient for their fathers, and we will progress in making the partially abandoned farms productive and better ones more productive as there is a paying demand for their products. But we must remember that there is in Canada an area of wheat lands developed by railways almost as large as the wheat lands of the United States. The process which I have mentioned that carried the sons of our farmers to our own government lands is carrying them rapidly across the border to the Canadian fields.

We have not as yet an intelligent comprehension of the future productive possibilities of South America. The Argentine Republic, with an area one-third as large as the United States and enormously productive, has a population of only about seven millions of people, but is rivaling us in supplying Great Britain with wheat and beef. Brazil, with an area as large as the United States and a population of about twenty millions, possesses agricultural opportunities sufficient to become the granary almost of the world. South and Central America have an area possessing enormous productive power more than twice as large as the United States, and their resources have not yet attracted immigration to any considerable extent. Mexico, with an area of one-third of the United States,

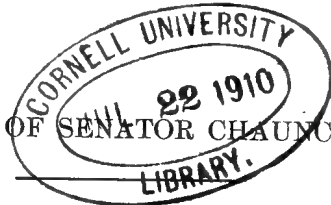
and capable of producing everything grown in the temperate and tropical zones, has a population of only fifteen millions. American capital and enterprise, having the assurance of a stable government under Diaz, are building a network of railways through the country which will enormously stimulate immigration and production.

These suggestions of Mexico, South America, and Canada are the reserves of food supply when the United States becomes, like Great Britain, more a workshop than a farm. But our alarmists leave out of account in their fearsome calculations the progress of science and the effect of its discoveries upon our agricultural development. When natural supplies for recuperation and reclamation of the soil were becoming scarce and too dear for profitable application science discovered the possibilities of producing marketable nitrogen in unlimited quantities from the air. We are as yet in the infancy of electrical transmission, but there are stored in the Sierras, the Rockies, the Alleghenies, the White and the Green mountains limitless water powers for the creation of electricity. Every year the extent to which it can be productively and practically transmitted is extended. It is now within the bounds of practical application to largely supersede the use of coal for manufacturing, house heating and housekeeping, and the operation of railways and steamships.

The Reclamation Service of the United States is, by storage reservoirs and the distribution of water through ditches, making the great American desert which was the bugaboo of our youth the garden of the country. Four millions of acres of reclaimed desert, making families rich on 40 acres in the farm, because of the productiveness of the soil under scientific cultivation, make every one of those farms a stimulating university and agricultural school for the farmers of the whole country. Sixty million additional acres will soon be offered to the people. The increase of domestic demand has, up to date, been so much greater year by year than the proportionate output of the farms that if continued for a few years we would change from one of the largest exporting nations to an importing nation of food products. Yet scientific farming and new areas of desert, made fertile by the Reclamation Service, and other areas made profitable by the suggestions of the Agricultural Department and the experiment stations of the States, will stimulate production to such an extent as to postpone indefinitely the period when the United States will cease to be self-sustaining in its own supply of food. Information has come to me of what one man accomplished who bought a farm which

had been practically abandoned in northern New York, near the Canadian line. After he had put his farm in productive condition he raised last year 354 bushels of potatoes to the acre, 50 bushels of shelled corn, 35 tons of beets, and 4 tons of hay. This production equals any on the best farm in the fertile West. If the same processes were extended over the State, New York would resume her old place as foremost in agriculture among the States. This experiment can be indefinitely repeated. Equally intelligent operations in the old as well as the new States will keep us in the lead as a food-exporting nation and present opportunities of feeding five hundred millions of people when our population has reached that figure. Reckless cutting of timber off the Appalachian Mountains is destroying our supply of hard wood, and, by floods and erosions caused by denuding the hills, carrying \$30,000,000 worth of farms into the rivers and ocean every year. Ten millions of dollars, the price of a battle ship, would make a forest reserve of these mountains and save these farms. A bill to accomplish this has passed the Senate three times and has always been defeated in the House of Representatives because, apparently, farms were so cheap and plenty as yet that the House of Representatives saw no necessity of appropriating \$10,000,000 to purchase the forests and then administer them under scientific conditions where they would support themselves and thus save \$30,000,000 worth of farms a year.

Some two and a half millions of new acreage goes under cultivation this year. Our farms will add in the coming year to the wealth of the country in the neighborhood of nine thousand millions of dollars. There is now on deposit in the banks of the United States in round numbers thirteen thousand six hundred millions of dollars, belonging to 25,000,000 of depositors. Of these, 6,000,000 are depositors in the savings banks, with fifteen hundred millions to their credit. Uncle Sam on this Christmas can smoke his pipe in peace and, while serenely surveying the future, felicitate himself and congratulate the people upon the happy conditions of the present and our brilliant prospects for the future.



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BIRTHDAY SPEECH OF SENATOR CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

MR. BRADLEY. Mr. President, on the 23d of April last the senior Senator from New York [Mr. DEPEW] delivered a most notable address at the annual dinner given him by the Montauk Club, of Brooklyn, in celebration of his birthday. The address is replete with historical information of great value to the people of the United States. The Senator on that occasion spoke in his usually entertaining and eloquent manner. In view of the historical value of the address and the high standing of the Senator from New York, I move that it may be printed as a Senate document.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT. Without objection, the request is complied with.

MAY 2, 1910.—Ordered to be printed.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN:

No language can express fittingly my pleasure at the renewal of your greeting. For nearly two decades you have gathered annually in honor of my birthday. Members of all political parties, and all religious faiths, men in the professions, in business, in journalism, in literature, in the multifarious activities and antagonisms of American life, lay their differences aside for this festive night, as they have done during all these years. This holding in abeyance and suspension the antagonisms which divide men upon many lines is only ordinarily possible at a funeral. Even in that case, some go as far as did the late Judge Hoar, who detested Wendell Phillips, and when requested by the family to be a pallbearer, sent back word declining, but with the remark, "I approve of the proceedings." It is a refutation of the universal charge against us that we are so absorbed in materialism that we have lost all faculty for the healthy enjoyment of association and that attrition of minds without rancor which promotes truth and longevity, for to-night, whatever we were yesterday or will be to-morrow, is devoted whole-heartedly and unselfishly to comradeship and good-fellowship.

At 76 the world ought to seem no different on its spiritual, its ethical, and its human side than it did at 46. A statesman and politician who had won many distinctions and been blessed with a multitude of devoted followers closed his career and his life with the pathetic inquiry, "What does it all amount to?" If I should attempt to estimate what the world had all amounted to for me from the day I entered Peekskill Academy at 10 years of age until this hour, volumes would not suffice, and, therefore, I sum it all up in this, "For a long life, abounding in good things, in a capacity for enjoying everything, in reciprocal attachments and contributions with multitudes of men and women, in more than my share of health and of happiness, I reverently thank God both that I am alive and that I have lived."

I read an account the other day of a Russian, named Ivan Kusman, who was admitted to the hospital in St. Petersburg at the age of 138. He remembered Napoleon's burning of Moscow, and the few incidents that occur in the career of a Russian peasant. He was an agricultural laborer for a mere pittance during this whole period, and could neither read nor write. That is not an experience to be envied. It enforces Tennyson's lines, "Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay." But, on the contrary, when you think of Auber composing his best operas at 89, and Manuel Garcia still an instructor in vocal culture at 100, and Whittier singing immortal songs at 85, you are in contact with men who have lived and who know "what it all amounts to."

There is an eastern maxim that every man at 40 is either a fool or a physician. It is eminently true. That old Italian, Carnaro, who found all of his associates in Venice dying at 40, made up his mind that these tragedies were due to excesses. He had the strength of will to adopt a very severe but frugal regimen, both in eating and drinking. At 80 he published his experiences for the benefit of those who were still dying or likely to die at 40. At 90 and at 100 he repeated the publication and enforced the lesson of the happiness which had come to him with health and longevity, declaring the same might be shared by every man. His plan was very simple. He selected out of the many things he liked a few for his table, masticated thoroughly, long before Fletcherism was known, and limited the quantity by measurement upon the scales to half what he had usually devoured, reduced his wine to the minimum, and at that time tobacco had not been discovered,

Fifty-four years in public and semipublic life and upon the platform all over this country and in Europe for all sorts of objects in every department of human interest have given me a larger acquaintance than almost anybody living. The sum of observation and experience growing out of this opportunity is that granted normal conditions, no hereditary troubles, and barring accidents and plagues, the man who dies before seventy commits suicide. Mourning the loss of friends has led me to study the causes of their earlier departure. It could invariably be traced to intemperance in the broadest sense of that word; intemperance in eating, in drinking, in the gratification of desires, in work and in irregularity of hours, crowning it all with unnecessary worry. Pythagoras said "Beware of ballots if you wish to live long." In other words, the old philosopher advised keeping out of politics. In his time the defeated party ran the risk of death, or imprisonment, or exile, and so the advice was good, "Beware of ballots." But, in our country where the citizen is a sovereign and responsible for the government of his country, his state, his city, his village or his town, an active interest in public affairs and party management gives healthy circulation to the blood, healthy exercise and activity to the muscles, and inspiration and enlargement to the mind, and satisfaction in results which all tend to length of years and usefulness.

The year of my birth, 1834, seems a long way off on the calendar but mighty short in the retrospect. The Roman Emperor Hadrian spent the revenues of an empire upon astrologers who should forecast his future from the conjunction of the stars at his birth. If you are so inclined, you can have that work done now for 50 cents. But, suppose we leave the stars to the astronomer and come down to earth. In 1834 Cardinal Gibbons, Doctor Eliot of Harvard, President Benjamin Harrison, Justice Harlan of the Supreme Court, Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, and Edmund Clarence Stedman, the poet, also fell under the influence of the powers of Heaven and earth which started them on their careers. Every year has its distinction, but this one seems to have brought forth more than most others of the things which have influenced the world. In it were organized the first National Temperance Association and the first National Anti-Slavery Society.

The idea of temperance at that time was purely voluntary. Statutory restrictions had not been dreamed of. At that time and for twenty years afterward drunkenness was our national vice. At a large

dinner like this a considerable portion of the guests would always be hopelessly gone, and at private dinners of fourteen, sixteen, or twenty it was common for several of the guests to be disgracefully drunk. This never occurs now, either at public or private entertainments, no matter how free the wine.

The purport of the antislavery movement was perfectly understood by the slaveholders and their sympathizers. Meetings in New York and in Philadelphia were broken up by riots which sometimes lasted for days and in which many were injured and large amounts of property destroyed. In Connecticut a mob with a brass band interrupted a lecturer for the abolition of slavery and drove him out of Norwich to the tune of "The Rogues' March." The legislatures of the Southern States called upon the Northern States to prohibit the printing of antislavery publications and did prohibit their circulation in their Commonwealths. President Jackson sent a message to Congress recommending the passage of an act for the suppression of antislavery literature.

The agitation begun by the formation of the National Anti-Slavery Society in 1834 continued with increasing volume and vehemence. The society preached the horrors of slavery and then on the patriotic side a sentiment that the Declaration of Independence should be true in spirit as well as in letter. After thirty years, at the cost of a million lives, and directly and indirectly of ten thousand millions of dollars, and up to date three thousand millions in pensions, slavery was abolished and the Declaration of Independence made true in our Country, both in letter and in spirit.

In that year occurred the first record of a beat in journalism which has become the life of the press. The Journal of Commerce established relays of horses between New York and Philadelphia and secured the news of the White House and of Congress a day earlier than the other New York papers.

There was great intellectual activity in the country resulting in breaking away from the old universities. A liberal education was thought impossible except at Yale, or Harvard, or Columbia, or Princeton, but in that year there were twelve colleges founded in different parts of the country, all of which are now successful and have done magnificent work in higher education.

Andrew Jackson was President of the United States and William L. Marcy governor of the State of New York. The President gave his

approval to the party platform. "That political workers are to be rewarded with political offices, and political parties are to be held together by the cohesive power of public plunder." That doctrine controlled the civil service of the United States without check or hindrance for over fifty years. In that year the United States national debt was paid off and the country started with a clean slate. In that year General Jackson gave his famous order for the removal of government deposits from the banks. This was the beginning of an agitation which threw our financial system into chaos. It made impossible currency upon a scientific basis, and was the fruitful mother of the country-wide and disastrous panics which have so often shaken our financial and industrial stability. The most delicate, difficult, and dangerous of all the functions of government, the one upon whose proper creation and administration rests the whole fabric of national and individual credit, the one which should be adjusted and settled by the lessons of the experience of highly organized governments for hundreds of years, has from that time to this been the sport of party warfare, political passion, and partisanship. The dead hand of that great, strong man still holds our financial system by the throat.

Our institutions and political policy came from England and were so modified by our ancestors as to meet conditions under a republican form of government and the expansive necessities of the new country. All power in the mother land was originally in the throne. By succeeding revolutions the people gained more and more power until now they have it all, and in many respects Great Britain in its government is the most democratic of all countries. On the other hand, we began with a distrust of executive power and authority and our evolution has been the other way. Our first confederacy was a rope of sand. In our government under the Constitution we protected ourselves against the executive by a clear definition of his powers, by the right to override his veto by Congress, by the veto upon him from the Supreme Court, and the power of impeachment. Our early Presidents who had taken part in the formation of the government were in thorough harmony with these limitations upon the President, and with the apprehension of kingly authority which had brought them about. With Jackson a new generation came into the government, a generation removed from the experiences and opinions of the revolution. The leader of this generation was one of the strongest, most self-centered, autocratic and arbitrary of men who have ever appeared in our

public life. He not only defied Congress and the courts, but won the applause of the people and changed public opinion as to the powers and duties of the President. From his time until now there has been not only in the Central Government, but in the States, a growing distrust of the representatives of the people in Congress and in the legislatures and an increasing confidence in Presidents and governors. The literature of our magazines and of a large portion of the press casts doubt upon and arouses suspicion of the actions and the methods of successive Congresses and legislatures and appeals to the President or the governors to control and lead them. The writers put their faith in the executive and justify everything that he may do on the ground that the only safety of the people is in the strength, integrity, and courage of the executive against their betrayal by their representatives.

And yet, any competent man who will conscientiously and impartially study the question must come to the conclusion that the conditions of our National Congress are to-day infinitely better than ever before. There is no lobby at Washington. There are no interests there seeking to influence Senators and Members. For the times in which we live, for the varied necessities of our Government, for the legislation so much more difficult than it was in earlier days, both Houses of Congress, in ability and patriotism, will stand favorable comparison with what are called the great days of Webster, Clay, and Calhoun. With Grant began the system of not only recommending legislation to Congress but transmitting bills prepared to carry that legislation into effect, and this by evolution has become the common practice.

In 1834 Abraham Lincoln was elected to the legislature of Illinois and began his extraordinary public career.

In 1834 Chicago received one mail a week, carried on horseback from Niles, Mich., and in 1834 the Whig party was formed out of the disruption of the old Federal organization and Democrats who were anti-slavery and believed in a liberal construction of the Constitution.

We can go back to this period for the beginning of the extraordinary change which has taken place in our business methods and social life. A railroad was built from Jersey City to New Brunswick and projected on to Trenton. A start was made on the Erie Road. The Harlem, which extended through the fields from the present site of the city hall in New York to the end of Manhattan Island, crossed the Harlem River. In other words, from small beginnings of a few miles for local traffic the expansion which began in 1834 has in seventy-six

years covered the country with 234,000 miles of railway mileage and developed new territories with a speed unknown in the history of immigration and settlement. It has transformed our land from isolated communities in which individual initiative and enterprise supplied nearly all the manufactures which they required into great centers of industries where mills and factories with enormous capital can, because of cheap transportation, get their raw material from great distances and give universal distribution to the manufactured product and place their output upon the market at a cost so low as to make competition by the individual impossible. More and more the United States because of cheaper cost is bringing into every department of human industry greater capital and larger employment. It has produced, on the one hand, the gigantic corporation, and on the other, in self-defense, the labor unions.

The problems growing out of this development are the ones which this generation faces and of which the preceding ones were ignorant. There can be no reasonable doubt that the proper method of dealing with these great questions is not by government ownership but government control. Corporations are to grow larger and combinations stronger. It is the inevitable tendency of the times. The safety of the people is to be in having the hand of the government, through responsible commissions and courts, upon every process of organization and operation, in frequent reports and publicity, in the press constantly informing the people and in the President and Congress, governors and the legislatures, being in constant and enlightened touch with the situation. It is thus that we can promote beneficent expansion, give opportunity for individual initiative and prevent monopolistic control.

Just now there is both suffering and alarm because of high prices. I have not much sympathy with those who say that this condition is due to national extravagance. There was tremendous complaint of high prices in 1835. There is on file in the Treasury Department a copybook of the expenses of a clerk who wanted an increase of salary because of the unusually high cost of living. His family consisted of five persons and his food for the year cost him \$338.10. The Bureau of Labor of the Government estimated last year that the food for a similar family now would be \$312.92. This clerk says that his boots cost him \$3.75, his cotton sheeting 10 cents a yard (both now are about the same), his lamp oil \$1 a gallon (now 10 cents), blacking of

shoes 25 cents a shine (now 5 cents), flour \$8 a barrel (now \$7), transportation for himself and wife from Washington to Martinsburg, Va., and return \$32.03 (now \$8.02), Martinsburg being 77 miles from Washington; an ordinary cooking stove \$49 (now about \$16.50), and a firkin of butter \$10.22 (now about \$21.50). Extravagance is a relative, not a positive, condition. Nobody would live now as the whole country did in 1834 and 1835. Both men and women of that period were largely the manufacturers of their own clothes in their own houses. They cultivated their own little gardens without help. If they kept a horse, as many of them did, the care of the animal, the mending of the harness and the painting and repairing of the wagon were all done by the head of the family. The wife made the children's clothes, and ran the house and a kindergarten.

The laborer who comes here from abroad and continues, as he will for a time, to live as he did at home finds that upon our wages he is saving money rapidly and accumulating, according to his ideas, a comfortable fortune. In fact, many, retaining their habits of living which they brought with them, go back in a few years to lives of ease on little places upon the Continent. That sort of thing is carrying out of the United States a hundred million of dollars a year, but those who remain to become citizens, and those who are born here and are citizens, desire to live as an American artisan should and will live, in housing, clothing, food, educational opportunities for the children, and surplus for travels, books, and pleasure, which make the glory of American citizenship. By our system of protection we have made it possible for the American workingman to receive wages in many cases double and in all cases much larger than in other countries. But we have not as yet protected him against competition by immigrants who will work for what he can not afford to work for and live as he will not and should not be asked to do.

The most beneficent of the changes which have occurred during my time have been the laws granting rights to women. In my earlier days a woman's property was her husband's, his debts were hers, and it was not until 1848 that she could have her independent possessions or safety in any business she might undertake. It was still later that she was accorded the privilege of a higher education and her intellectual necessities as well as ability considered to be fully equal to man's. As I used to travel through the country on railway-inspection trips I noticed at every station a crowd of idlers. They knew the

names of the trains, of the conductors, and the engineers, and were eager to tell the waiting traveler whether No. 2 was late or the Empire State Express on time. I noticed that they disappeared at noon and at about 6. Upon inquiry I found that they were supported by their wives. These capable, hard-working, energetic women were dressmakers or milliners or kept little stores, and their worthless husbands hung around the depot because they had no other means of passing away time unless the circus was in town or elections in progress, and turned up invariably for meals which had been earned by the wife. This experience has done more than all things else to bring me toward woman suffrage, for in all these cases she is assuredly the better half.

People are all influenced largely by their point of view rather than the merits of the question. When Captain Schmittberger in New York arrested a sleepwalker, the man said, "Hold on; you must not arrest me. I am a somnambulist." "I don't care a cuss what your religion is," said the Captain; "you can't walk the street in my precinct in your nightshirt."

Anyone who has had the opportunity to watch closely for half a century the psychological development of people finds many interesting results. The vast majority are neighborly, generous, sympathetic, and kindly. In the evolution of influences the other sort sometimes take the lead. The man who inquires about your health with a suggestion that you are in a decline, who sympathetically wants to know why your wife or daughter or son was not at church last Sunday, with an intimation that he considers his or her condition rather serious, who hastens to drop everything to convey to you some bad news, is common in every community. If some provincial journal which you are never likely to see has a mean article about you this candid friend buys two copies, puts them in sealed envelopes, with 2-cent stamps attached so that you will be sure to open them, and mails one to your wife and one to yourself. I wonder what this person, who fears or is ashamed to give his name or address, gets in return for this investment of 4 cents. He may gloat over imaginary suffering as worth that expenditure, but can never be sure that his bolt hits the mark. He is a blind speculator in malice and meanness.

Coming from a long railway journey I landed in the Grand Central Depot one morning between 4 and 5 o'clock. A man stepped up to me and said in regard to a very dear and valued friend: "Have you heard about Jim?" I said, "No. What?" He hit me a whack in the back

that sent me off the platform onto the rails and shouted, "He is dead. My God! he is dead." When I recovered sufficiently, I said, "How came you to be here at this early hour?" The answer was, "The family sent me to meet you and break the news gently."

There is a singular prevalence, temporary I am sure, of this sentiment just now. A well-known writer, whose contributions are very acceptable to the magazines, told me that he thought there had been quite enough of misrepresentation and unfair criticism of President Taft and his administration, and so he wrote some articles stating the conclusions which he had arrived at, and the reasons for them, which were favorable to the President. His employers, the publishers, said, "Our readers don't want that. If you have any scandal about any public man or about Congress with enough truth to make it, when properly presented, seem to be very bad and, therefore, sensational, that suits our readers and increases our circulation."

I heard a story from a journalistic friend, who publishes a broad and liberal paper, that the proprietor of one of the newspapers who makes this view of measures and men a specialty, having been absent for some time, turned up in the editorial rooms and called the staff about him and wanted to know if they had been off on a vacation. "Why?" said the astonished manager and editor. "Because," said the boss, "I have not seen anything which flays or dissects anybody for a week." "But," said the manager, "no one of any account has said or done anything for a week." "Well," said the boss, "we have got to keep up our reputation or lose our circulation. Take the hide off Bishop Potter."

The boys of my period were inspired as no other generation has been by books by the Waverley novels. If the ground was susceptible, they created statesmen, soldiers, and poets, and aroused ambitions in receptive minds to be followed by the best efforts of which they were capable. It was a liberal education to read Dickens's novels as they came out one after another; the enjoyment in the last and the eager expectancy of the next were sensations never forgotten. Dickens's intimate picture of the life of the ordinary home, its joys, its sorrows, its comedies and tragedies, touched every heart and broadened every mind. So, when Thackeray's novels began to appear, their exquisite literature, their superb English, their masterly dissection of human motives and springs of action gave exquisite pleasure and created a generation of brilliant thinkers and great writers.

Two years ago, while in Europe, I was at one of the big hotels at a watering place on the Continent. The table of the reading room was strewn with cheap editions which the visitors had read and left behind. I never dreamed that so much eroticism, nastiness, and brutal depravity could be printed and sold by reputable booksellers. But a popular writer told me that the publishers claimed this was the public taste and it demanded novels whose basic action should be domestic infelicities brought about by faithless wives and husbands and immoral adventuresses, and that no detail should be omitted which would give spice to the narrative. This sort of thing can be done in a French novel so as to seem a work of art, but in English it becomes the quintessence of badness and vulgarity. In the course of a half century I have noticed these cycles. It is difficult to decide whether they are protests against Puritanism or a certain and sudden eagerness to show that contact with the worst is not injurious. Happily, this deluge of filth did not sweep over our country, and the reaction in Europe is leading to happy results. Serious books by eminent men upon live topics and with lofty ends are becoming popular, and the wings of genius, scoured of mud, are working to lift the novel, which is the companion and preacher of our daily life, into the air which was breathed by Walter Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, and Kingsley.

Unhappy is the man who is not so much dissatisfied with what he has as with what the other fellow possesses. Happy is the man who, looking over his life, its associations, its incidents and accidents, its friendships and its enmities, would not exchange with anyone, living or dead. A successful politician who incurred a great deal of abuse used to comfort himself by saying of his critic, "That man will die and go to hell." He always came into my office immediately after one of his enemies had departed and would simply remark, "He is there." The result of this gentleman's view of those who disagreed with him led to a general exclamation when he died himself, "Well, he is there."

Galileo, being one day in the cathedral at Pisa, watched the oscillations of a lamp suspended from the ceiling. He observed that the vibrations were performed in equal time, and from that he invented the clock and the machinery whose accuracy created modern astronomy. But people had been watching the swinging of that lamp for hundreds of years and saw nothing in it. Its lesson came to Galileo because he was the most eminent of the trained scientists of his time.

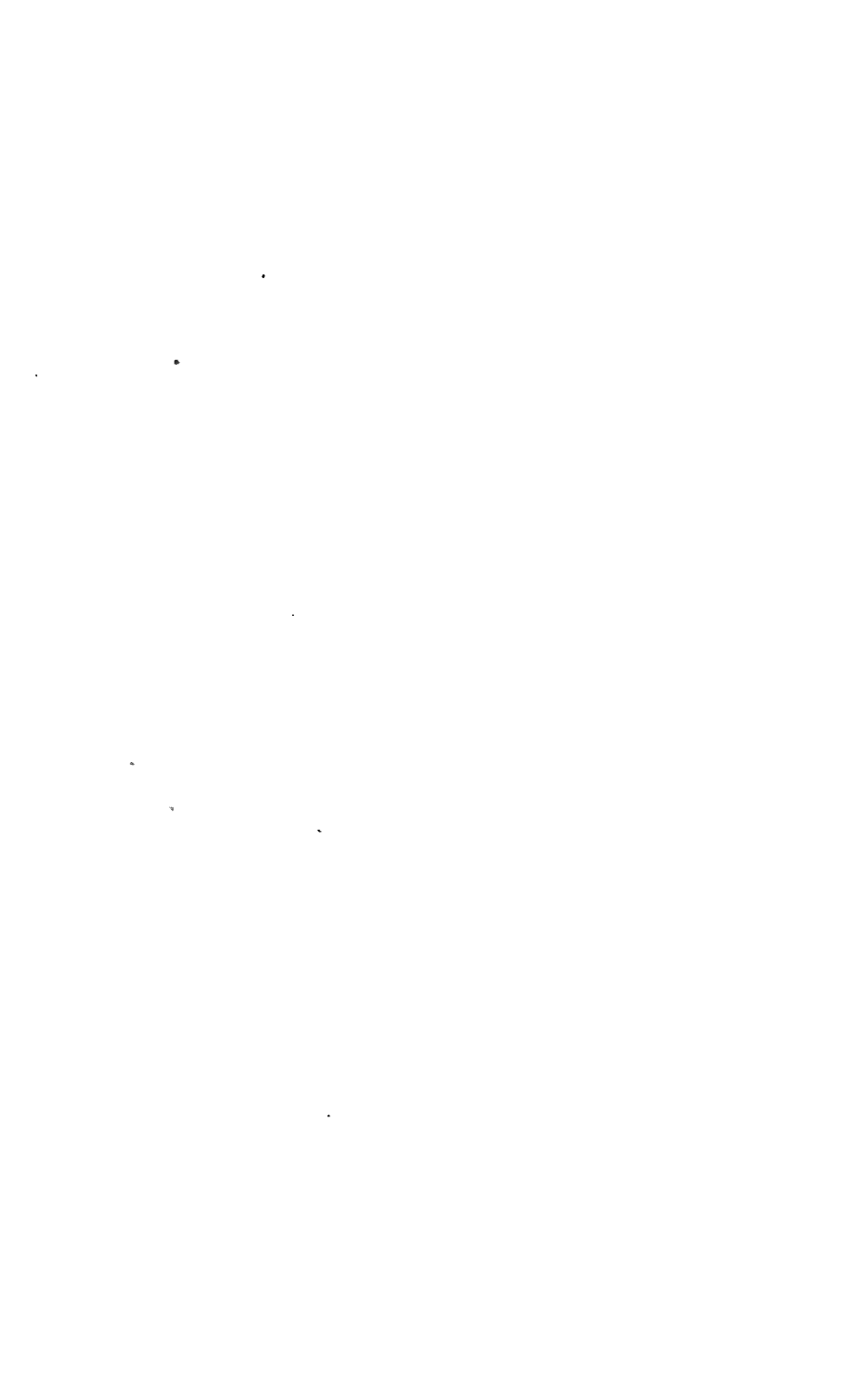
James Hargreaves lived by spinning and weaving, his wife and children helping him. He was always experimenting and all his experiments were failures. One day the youngest member of the family, toddling over the floor, fell against the spinning wheel while it was working and upset it. Hargreaves noticed that while he retained the thread in his hand the wheel continued to revolve horizontally for a time, giving a vertical rotation to the spindle. That suggested the spinning jenny, which, by giving England the command for so long a time of the cotton industry, made her one of the greatest manufacturing countries in the world. The lazy man says, "What a lucky accident," but Hargreaves had been trying for twenty years to discover this secret. Hundreds of weaving machines had been upset in the meantime, but it was the training, experience, and genius of the observer which brought about this result. Charles Goodyear spent the best part of his life trying to produce vulcanized india rubber. Angry at his failures, he flung a piece of rubber upon a hot stove, to find afterwards that the problem was solved. Rubber had been burned in one form or another ever since it was discovered, but it was the mind intent for so long upon the one purpose which saw in the accident the realization of his hopes. So, my friends, the longer we live the more firmly we are convinced that it is only training and work which win. A people have recently been discovered in one of the islands in the Bay of Bengal who wear no clothes, for in that climate they need none, who do not have to work for food because it grows in superabundance upon the trees, while a little exertion gathers fish from the stream or game from the forest. Under these conditions of absolute indolence and no necessity for exertion their average age is twenty-six years, while the hardy peasants of the Balkan Mountains, who with the greatest difficulty can scratch enough for existence out of the inhospitable soil, are the longest lived races in the world.

It is a glorious thing for any people to have thrills of enthusiasm. I think all of us, no matter what our views of him may be, no matter how much we differ with him in opinion, no matter how much he may have antagonized some of us by his actions, feel prouder of the product of American liberty and opportunity because the eye of the world is just now filled, to the exclusion of all other men, by the virile figure of Theodore Roosevelt.

In closing this seventy-sixth anniversary there rises out of the past this fact of hope and aspiration. During all my earlier years I sat

under the preaching of a learned preacher of the old school Presbyterian Church. His most fervid sermons were on Christmas and Easter. He claimed that there was no historical authority for these dates, and denounced them, to use his own language, as "Popish superstitions." Liberalism or modernism, or rather Christian charity, has softened the antagonisms and lowered the barriers between churches and creeds. In these days of Christian unity in faith with liberty in forms, around every altar on Christmas are evergreens and on Easter flowers. The question of dates becomes insignificant compared with the tremendous consequences to humanity from the Birth and Resurrection, and all can now unite in a common celebration of these festivals. It is a long step toward the peace of the world, the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.





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Speech of Hon. Chauncey M. Depew at the
Republican Mass Meeting at White
Plains, N. Y., on Thursday,
October 27, 1910.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Semi-Centennial of the Republican Party.

For ten years we were celebrating the centennials of the events of the battles of the Revolutionary War, the formation of the Constitution of the United States and the inauguration of our first President, George Washington. These memorial ceremonials were educations in patriotism. They taught the present generation the struggles, trials and sacrifices of the fathers who had formed the republic. They were lessons of inestimable value in the basic principles upon which our institutions are founded. From neglect in the schools and in the textbooks a generation had come upon the stage which knew little or nothing of the causes of the revolution and of its results except that from it grew the republic. We are celebrating this year the semi-centennial of the entrance into power of the Republican party. Fifty years ago Abraham Lincoln was President and both Houses of Congress had a large majority in support of his administration. It was the first entrance of the new party upon the responsibilities of power. With the exception of two years under Cleveland, the government during the whole of these fifty years has not been wrested from Republican hands. The story of this half century is the history of the refoundation and rebuilding of the United States. No party can live alone upon its past, but its past is necessarily an indication of what will happen if it is continued in authority in the future.

Rapid Achievements by the Party.

It is my privilege to have participated in and so to distinctly remember the events of this half century. The

compromises. The truth is never established by a single battle or in a single century, except with our country, in these fifty years. When I entered public life to keep slavery out of the territories seemed to be all that could be desired or hoped for, but when war came the emancipation of the slaves was inevitable and the country for the first time adopted the views of the little band of anti-slavery men that the Declaration of Independence must be true in fact as well as in theory. The reconstruction of the States progressed slowly from military and arbitrary government to a return to the fundamental principle of the fathers of state sovereignty within constitutional limits. The irredeemable greenback which enabled the government to carry the Civil War to victory, became a fetich and it required a struggle of nearly a quarter of a century to secure the resumption of specie payments. The depreciation of the currency by the free coinage of silver and the double standard brought about an industrial revolution of unequaled and unparalleled magnitude in the history of highly organized nations and impressed upon the people the truth which had been demonstrated by experience in older countries that gold is the only standard of value. To accomplish these results and to keep in active operation the principle of protection of American industries required the statesmanship of the administrations of Lincoln, Johnson, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Harrison, McKinley and Roosevelt. The demonstrated results of these policies are the progress and prosperity of the United States from the distress and the devastation of the Civil War to conditions in which we of all parties rejoice to-day.

Support Taft.

So much for the past. We are to vote in this canvass not only on State issues but for thirty-seven members of Congress who will, if Republicans, support, and, if Democrats, oppose President Taft. We are to elect a Legislature which is to elect a United States Senator, and to enact the most important of legislation, the apportionment of the State into Congressional districts. But the question before the voter in this campaign is, "Has the present administration kept up with the traditions and the progress of the past." I confidently assert that in all the confusion of terms growing out of factional strife, standpatter, reactionary, progressive and insurgent, the substantial progress in the first eighteen months of the administration of William H. Taft has few if any parallels in our history. If there is anything more than another which is a

self-evident truth in our politics it is that each generation of American citizens can take care of itself, it is that each period with its questions can be satisfactorily settled by the voters of that period, and the question to be settled in his canvass is not the Presidential election of 1912; that can take care of itself, and will be taken care of by the American people, but it is whether we shall return to Congress a House of Representatives and enable William H. Taft to continue during the remainder of his term the perfection of the policies of which so much has been enacted into law in less than one half of it, and to elect a state ticket and Legislature which will maintain the high standard and progressive policies of the past four years.

Taft Keeps Promises of the Platform.

The demands of present day business and the exigencies of present day life upon our time and minds are such that we need to be reminded of what has been done and is to be done by our administration and the President whom we have elected. It was a favorite phrase in previous campaigns that platforms were made not to stand on but to get in on, that they were like the platform of the railway car which was of little account to the traveler when once comfortably in his seat within. During the debates upon the tariff in the Senate during the last session the question of party platforms was daily to the front. Senator Bailey of Texas, one of the ablest of the Democratic Senators, and, I think, the most brilliant debater on the floor, ably took the position that while platforms endeavored to comprise within their expressions all the divergent views of the different sections of a national party, the person elected either as President or as Senator or as Representative was bound not by the platform but by his own judgment of what was his duty under the Constitution on such questions as might arise. I do not remember any President who has called the attention of Congress to the pledges of the party platform. Each one of the Chief Magistrates has had some quality, some talent which has distinguished him from the rest. To regard the party platform upon which he was elected as a solemn pledge to be carried out with all the powers he possessed is the distinction of William H. Taft. He says in effect in every message and every speech: When I accepted the nomination I accepted it without any reservations to stand upon the party declaration at Chicago. Upon that we went to the country and I went to the country. A majority of 469,374 voters declared that they believed in what we promised and I promised, and, so far as I

am capable, I propose to redeem that pledge. All Presidents have sent messages to Congress in which they have suggested the things they wished done, but with President Taft there was always a double message, one to the Congress advising the measure which he believed had been pledged in advance by the votes of the majority of the American people, and the other an admonition to his party associates in both Houses that they were as much bound as he was to carry out those pledges.

Taft Has Made Good.

Administrations have come and administrations have gone and one has succeeded another before the pledges of the party platforms have been fulfilled, but it is not so with our present President. The platform promised a railroad rate bill and it was passed. It promised an inquiry into stock watering and a commission was appointed for that purpose. It promised a system of postal savings banks and the measure is now a law. It promised separate statehood for New Mexico and Arizona and they will take their seats in the next Congress. It promised conservation of our resources and legislation of the most progressive and practical type has been enacted upon that question. It promised the perfection of the irrigation schemes which have done so much to turn the desert into a garden and that has been done. It promised a progressive naval scheme and laws were passed to secure two twenty-seven-thousand-ton battleships, the largest built, six torpedo boat destroyers, four submarine torpedo boats and two colliers, and the reorganization of the lighthouse board to meet modern requirements. It promised progressive legislation in the interest of labor, and the Bureau of Mines has been established, clothed with the whole power of the government to apply sanitary and safety appliances to the underground workers to prevent the frightful loss of life which has shocked and horrified the country. Larger powers were given to the Interstate Commerce Commission, and caused the railroads to increase their safety appliances after scientific and expert investigation. The old rule of common law which made the negligence of the employee or the contributory negligence of his fellow servant a release of the employer from liability is totally unfitted to modern conditions of vast and perilous employment. During the last session a large and generous measure was enacted into a law under which the employee in interstate commerce may escape the technicalities of the old rule and recover compensation for injuries which he may receive in the service, or if he

is killed, have his family taken care of. For seventy years there has been an effort made to apply the rule of compensation to the employees of the government employed in dangerous occupations. Legislation to this effect has failed in every Congress for two generations. It failed because of the fear that it might lead to civil service pensions. I take more pride than in anything else which I did or voted for during my legislative career that when the bill to secure this needed reform for the employees in the government service was placed in my hands I succeeded almost in the last hour of the last day in passing it through the Senate and having it go to the President, and with his signature it is now a law. But in carrying out President Taft's recommendations and his insistence upon the promises of the platform becoming laws, the imposition of a tax of one per cent upon the corporations has brought them, as nothing else could, within the supervision of the Federal Government. President Taft, while Governor of the Philippines, and while Secretary of War, labored in season and out of season to promote the industries and the prosperity of the Philippine Islands by securing free trade with them and the United States. It is one of the brilliant fulfillments of his administration that in the last hours of the last session he secured this legislation.

Democrats Oppose Progressive Measures.

It is a singular fact that nearly the whole of this progressive legislation had the opposition, both in debate and in votes, of the Democratic party as represented in the two Houses of Congress. While we could secure practically a unanimous Republican vote in the passage of these measures after they were perfected, the Democratic Senators and Representatives would either vote solidly against them or else divide in such a way as to show that if the responsibility was left with them they never could agree upon the terms of any bill as to tariff, or currency, or postal savings banks, or industrial legislation.

Results Prove Taft's Laws Wise and Beneficent.

Now it is for the results to prove and for the American people to decide whether this extraordinary and progressive legislation which was secured by President Taft was wise and in the interest of the people and the whole people of the United States. Most of this legislation was not upon moral but upon business questions, and the only test of business legislation

is its effect upon the prosperity of the country and the welfare of the people. The best barometer of healthy business conditions is traffic upon the railroads. In carrying the products of the farm and of the factory they demonstrate to what extent the farm is finding the market and factory is employing labor. Owing to the panicky conditions of 1907 and 1908 at the time of the election of President Taft, there were ten thousand locomotives and four hundred thousand freight cars idle upon the railroads of the country. To-day the equipment of the railroads is insufficient to meet our internal commerce. The public service commissions are commanding all the roads to increase the number of cars and locomotives. The railroads are placing with the manufacturing companies enormous orders for new equipment. Every additional train placed upon the rails means so many more locomotive engineers, firemen, conductors and brakemen, means so many more employees to handle the goods at the stations and at the terminals, means so many more safety appliances which have to be manufactured by so many more employees in the machine shops, and so many more employed on the farms and in the factories. This is proved by the fact that in order to carry on the improved business there is more money in circulation to-day than ever before in the history of our country. The best proof of the prosperity of the workingmen of the country is that there are more deposits in the savings banks than during the whole of their existence. The farms not only yield more but the farmers are receiving higher prices and readier sale for their products than they or their fathers ever knew, and there are more people employed and at higher wages than at any time since the close of the Civil War. One of the causes of high prices is that people are earning more and spending more than ever before, while the increase in production has not kept pace with the demands upon the market.

Payne Tariff.

No law has ever been so villified and misrepresented as the Payne Tariff Bill. No law has ever in such a brief time accomplished more beneficent results. The Payne Tariff Bill is assailed unanimously by the Democratic press and by some critics in our party. When we examine the charges made against it they are misrepresentations. The latest utterance on this subject is the speech of acceptance by the Democratic nominee, Mr. John A. Dix, in which he says, "The governing power must be in the hands of the Democratic party that we

may have a downward revision of the present iniquitous tariff—a tariff which, while lowering the duties on non-essentials, has increased the duties on all the necessities of life.” What are the necessities of life if tariff increases decide that question as Mr. Dix says? Now, the tariff increased the duties upon champagne which is not a necessary of life, upon imported wines, brandies and liquors which are not vital necessities of life, upon jewelry, silks and luxurious articles of adornment for women who can afford such things which are not vital necessities of life, and it did not increase the duty upon any article which is a vital necessary of life. It removed the duty from hides. It lowered the duty on shoes, sole leather and harness, on lumber, dressed meat, iron, steel, ore, hard coal, soft coal, wood pulp and paper, barbed wire, peas, cabbages, sugar, sugar beets, salt, lard, bacon and hams, which are necessities of life. Perhaps the distinguished candidate of the Democratic party who is a business man and had had nothing to do with public life is not to blame for this assertion. He probably never has read the Payne Tariff Bill or compared it with the Dingley Bill which it replaced, but has seen this statement, and accepted it as truth, in the Democratic newspapers of the country. One of the charges is that duties were increased on cotton fabrics; as a matter of fact, the duties were not changed; that the duties were increased on woolen fabrics, and as a matter of fact the duties were not changed. The true test as to whether a tariff is prohibitively high and is not a restriction upon the prices of American manufacturers is the importations. There have been nearly four millions more in value of cotton goods imported under the new tariff than there was last year under the old, and five and one-half millions of dollars more of woolen goods under the new tariff than there was last year under the old. Here are nearly nine millions of dollars of cotton and woolen goods which foreign manufacturers find they can bring into our markets and pay the duty and successfully compete with our own manufacturers. The fact that they can do so demonstrates that even under the present tariff the wages paid to American workingmen are such that the American manufacturers cannot compete with foreign manufacturers who are paying the wages on the other side. The two hundred and twenty-four millions of dollars increase in importations for the first year of the Payne Bill over the last year of the Dingley law is still more impressive of this truth. If these nine millions of dollars worth of cotton and woolen goods had been manufac-

tured in this country, as nearly the whole cost is labor, there would have been nine millions more of money paid this fiscal year to the workingmen of the United States than the amount which they received. The nine millions of dollars which went to the factories of Germany and of France would have been paid out in the factory towns of the United States.

We Are All Progressives.

Our so-called insurgent friends have put into their platforms in the Western States which they control; first, a declaration in favor of the principle of protection. Now, we all agree to that. They have declared that proper protection should be the difference between the production cost at home and abroad, with a fair margin of profit, and on that we have all agreed. They have declared emphatically for a tariff commission to ascertain that cost, and on that we are all agreed. They have declared emphatically that the tariff should hereafter be revised not as a whole but by schedules as the tariff commission may ascertain when the cost of this country exceeds the limit prescribed by the rule of classifying the cost of production at home and abroad. All these features on which they maintain there is a difference between them and the rest of the party are assented to and agreed to by all the party. The only difference between them and the rest of the party is that we who supported these measures heartily and cordially, accord the credit which is due him beyond all other men for the accomplishment of these results—to the President of the United States, the Honorable William H. Taft. It was his initiative, his insistence and persistence, his personal influence and the power of his great office which has secured for us all the things which our progressive friends claimed would satisfy them in a tariff measure.

Tariff for Protection and for Revenue.

The argument between tariff for protection and tariff for revenue or free trade can be expressed by a striking example. England is the great and shining example of the results of the tariff for revenue or free trade. The revenues to support her government are raised almost exclusively by the tariff upon tea, coffee, tobacco, groceries, spirits and the immediate necessities of life. She opens her port freely to the manufacturers of other nations. The result is that her markets have been invaded by the United States, Germany, France, Italy, and now by Japan and all highly organized industrial countries. They have closed one after another of her factories in different

lines of business. From being the workshop of Europe, which she was when she declared for free trade seventy years ago, she has become the dumping ground for the surplus of all other countries. The highest authorities say that there are at all times in Great Britain at least 700,000 workers out of employment and on the edge of starvation. That is a very large percentage of the industrial population of the country. The reason is found in the economic fact that capital is fluid and can go anywhere, while labor is fixed and must remain in the country where it seeks to earn a living. When the capital invested in one line of manufacture is threatened by free importations from other countries, it is immediately transferred to the country from which the goods come with which the manufacturer cannot compete. The result is that the enormous sum of \$3,000,000,000 of British capital is invested all over the world, while not one-tenth of one per cent of American capital is invested outside of our own country. Capital and labor go hand in hand together and are inseparably associated. The employment of the one means the employment of the other. If this \$3,000,000,000 could be profitably employed in Great Britain, the chronic trouble, which is the one overwhelming anxiety of the statesmen over there, "How to take care of the unemployed," would be removed. This process of British capital going elsewhere to find profitable employment is increasing year by year. The object of our protective tariff is to keep our capital at home and keep it employed, and in keeping it employed to keep our American artisans and workingmen employed. It is for another purpose than this. Germany is a highly protective country, so is France, so is Japan. The German and French wage scales are about half ours. Let Germany, with her tremendous industrial power and energy, invade our market, and either capital would be driven to Germany or into idleness or the workingmen would have to work upon a scale of wages which would induce the capitalist to employ his funds.

Japan.

A new competitor has come in to the field and that is Japan. Forty-six years ago I was appointed the second United States Minister to Japan after it was opened to the world. I held the commission long enough to ascertain conditions in the country. There has been no change so marvelous as the growth of that empire during this half century in arms on land and sea, and especially in the arts and industries. The Japanese buy one set of tools required for the manufacture

of a particular article from America or from Germany and then they reproduce it for their own factories in limitless quantities. The result is that now Japan is becoming a great producer and exporter of manufactures of cotton, wool, wood and iron. Her advantages are two-fold. She has a high tariff to protect her markets, but with her cheap labor that is hardly necessary. For the sale of her goods in foreign markets her wage scale is 30 cents a day for expert mechanics with eleven hours' work, and subsidized steamships carry her productions all over the world. The opportunity of our surplus was ten years ago the Orient with its hundreds of millions of people. From that we are now barred by the activities, the enterprise, the energy and the skill of the Japanese. Our hope was in Australia and in South America, but even there the productions of this teeming hive of intelligent, frugal, tireless and self-sacrificing workers are gaining a foothold and creating dangerous competition. The United States is the best market in the world. Our people earn more money and spend it more freely than any other peoples. Our means of communication over our vast territory are greater and cheaper than in other lands. The welfare of our people, the wage scale enabling them to live in the self-respecting and prosperous conditions of American citizenship, can only be maintained and sustained by keeping the American market in the hands and under the control of the workingmen of America.

It is one of the self-evident truths characteristic of all industrial peoples that no nation can uplift the rest of the world to its prosperous conditions, if it has them, by admitting all peoples to share, but can only drag themselves down to the level of the lowest and the poorest.

A tariff bill must necessarily be a revenue producer, and the effect of the Payne Bill has been to change the deficit in the treasury of fifty millions of dollars to a surplus of between twenty and thirty millions.

Democrats Had Their Opportunity. The Disastrous Results.

Our Democratic friends are constantly crying out "Give us a chance." The speech of the candidate of the Democratic party for Governor is one long appeal iterating and reiterating "Give the Democratic party a chance and we will show such economies of administration and such benefits in constructive policies as to reduce the high cost of living and infinitely add to the blessings of American citizenship." Well, in the fifty years of Republican administration there was an

interruption of two years during which the Democratic party had its opportunity. It had the President and a working majority in both Houses of Congress. President Cleveland was an able and an honest man, but when he came to deal with his supporters in Congress he found that they were utterly unable to agree upon such a tariff bill as the platform demanded and as he insisted upon because the representatives of different sections could not rise above the demands of the industries of their several States. The Democratic Senators and Representatives from the South, from the Pacific Coast and from the Middle States were willing for and insisted upon free trade in the articles which they consumed but did not produce but the highest tariff possible upon the articles which they produced and wanted to sell. The result was the passage of a bill which the Democratic President refused to sign and which he said was an act of perfidy and dishonor. What came of this opportunity, what came of this chance, which had been desired and longed for and promised for a generation? It is an old story. It was acutely felt by the generation which suffered under it. It has been forgotten by the present generation of younger voters. It has led to the statement that there must be a Democratic administration and industrial disaster at least once in twenty-five years to show the contrast between Republican and Democratic policies and to teach the people that their safety, their employment and their prosperity are in the measures, the policies and the laws of the Republican party. The result of these two years of Democratic control of the government was that for the first time since the Civil War the government had to borrow two hundred and sixty millions of dollars for its immediate necessities and increase our national debt to that extent. The result was that there was such a disorganization of business, such an era of distrust, such a wide-spread bankruptcy and suspension that one-half the equipment of the railroads was idle and three millions of workmen of the United States out of employment.

Republicans Saved the Situation.

When the people grasped the situation they became entirely satisfied with the results of the experiment and by an unprecedented majority elected McKinley President and a Congress to support him. The Dingley Bill was enacted, and, like the striking of the rock by Moses in the wilderness when the life-giving flood poured out and saved the chosen people, so the furnaces were lighted and the wheels

of mill and factory set going and prosperity, plenty and happiness reigned throughout the land. Even the Democrats who voted according to their traditional bias in party matters were eminently satisfied because they shared in the general prosperity. The collapse of the Democratic party at that time was like that of an unpopular citizen in my old village at Peekskill of whose demise I learned on returning there from a long absence. I asked the undertaker, "What was the complaint?" That gentleman replied, "No complaint. Everybody satisfied."

Revision of Tariff by Democrats.

Mr. Dix says that the only way in which to secure a revision of the tariff downward is to have the Democratic party in power. It was at once both interesting and amusing to see the attitude of the Democratic Senators and Representatives as the different schedules in the tariff were under consideration. The Democratic Representatives from Missouri wanted the tariff raised on zinc; from Virginia, upon special products of that State; from Alabama, upon iron; from other sections upon lumber; from other sections upon potatoes, and from Florida upon pineapples. At the same time they shouted for the necessity of lowering the tariff upon articles which were produced by other States and sections. We have a remarkable illustration of this inability to make a tariff by our Democratic friends in the experience of the Democratic candidate for Governor. When the paper schedule, in which our State was deeply interested because that industry is so large with us, was before the Ways and Means Committee of the House and the Finance Committee of the Senate, the paper company, of which the Democratic candidate is a Director, and the chairman of the Democratic State Committee the Treasurer, made a presentation to Congress of the necessity of raising the tariff on the product of their mills from 25 per cent to 35 per cent as a minimum and 45 per cent as a maximum. The eminent literary gentleman who remarked that "Consistency is a jewel," like old Diogenes looking for an honest man, would evidently never have found that jewel in the Democratic party.

The safety of our institutions and justice for the people rest with an honest and able judiciary. Judge Whitney, the Democrat, has won the confidence on the bench of all parties. Tammany yielded at Rochester to the nomination of Dix to secure the rest of the ticket, and now they turn down this excellent judge for a favorite of Tammany Hall. Democratic success means that the Public Service Commission and the entire Civil Service of the State will be put in the same hands.

Prices Not Due to Tariff.

These are remarkable instances of how prices are affected by other causes than the tariff, and especially now by the universal increase in prices all over the world: Political economists ascribe this largely to the fact that the production of gold has increased. The amount of gold produced in the world in 1896 was two hundred and two millions, two hundred and fifty-one thousands. In 1908 it was four hundred and forty-two millions, or more than double in thirteen years. The tariff on lumber was reduced by the Payne Bill seventy-five per cent. The Treasury lost seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars in revenue, and lumber is higher than it was before, so the consumer is hit two ways. He has to pay additional taxes to make up that seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars and pay more for his lumber. Hides were made free, and yet leather and shoes are higher than they were before. There was a reduction of sixty per cent on iron ore, and yet the prices upon the products of iron have not changed. There was a reduction of twenty-five per cent on fresh meats and twenty per cent on hams and bacon, and yet the price of meat and of hams and bacon is largely increased. There was no duty on petroleum and yet oil is not lower. There was no increase in the duty on wool and hemp and yet the prices are higher for both woolen and linen goods. The reason is the increase of consumption and the supply has not kept up with the demand. The percentage of increase in population has been nearly double the percentage of increase in production.

What Two Increases Did.

Just two instances of the benefits in a few things on which the tariff was raised. The zinc industry of the United States had been wiped out because zinc had been discovered in Mexico and labor there is sixty cents a day against our \$2.50 to \$6. The Payne tariff raised the duty on zinc to an amount sufficient to open the mines in the United States. The result is they have all been opened during the year and thousands of men have been given employment. There were fifty millions of postal cards sold in the United States and all manufactured in Germany. An American visiting our national capital bought to send to friends abroad and the family at home, postal cards containing pictures of the White House, of the Capitol, of the Treasury Building, and of Mount Vernon, and on every one was "Made in Germany." The lithographic business employing tens of thousands of men, was practically

ruined by the cheap labor of the German lithographers. At the request of these workmen we raised the duty on postal cards, with the result that the lithographic establishments are reopened and the lithographers of the United States are finding employment at remunerative wages and the American citizen is buying a postal card upon which are pictured the historic buildings at the capital and the historic sites of the Revolution, made and manufactured in America by American labor.

Farmers Protectionists.

Mr. Blaine, one of the keenest, ablest and most far-sighted of the public men of his day, prophesied twenty-five years ago that the time would come, to the peril of the Republican party and of the advocates of protection, when the farmers would demand free trade for the things which they bought because, as the granary of the world, the old world could not get along without their surplus and they would need no protection. But the tremendous development of the industrial power of our country in the exploitation of its resources has reversed all predictions. The farmers of the country have very little surplus above the wants of our own people. For the first time since the early period when people lived very simply the profession of the farmer is a paying one. The prices of the products of the farm are from thirty-three to fifty per cent higher than ever before in the history of the country. Farm mortgages have been paid off and the country banks are lenders of the farmers' moneys in the money markets of the great cities. Instead of the farmer wanting the tariff reduced the tariff has become a necessity to his prosperity. One hundred and twenty thousand young American farmers going into Canada each year have developed a wheat belt there at the very doors of the wheat barns of the West which would be a serious competitor if they were not protected by the tariff. The limitless fields of Argentina have already surpassed the United States in the amount of food products from the soil and on the hoof which they are sending to Europe. The Republican policy of the fostering of American industries has created the railroads so that they have grown from 23,000 miles in 1830 to 230,000 miles in 1910, and along the railroads has been carried the population which has cultivated the farms, utilized the water powers and built up the cities and villages. In 1860 one of the first Acts which Abraham Lincoln signed, passed by a Republican Congress, was the Homestead Act. As the railroads pierced the public

domain settlers followed and between 1870 and 1900 three millions of new farms were taken up, making an area brought from the wilderness under cultivation of 430,000,000 acres of land, an area larger than France, Germany, Austria and Hungary combined. Except in the irrigated lands of the great American desert, there are no more free farms for the people. We can become self-sustaining as to our own food supply and again the largest exporter of food products in two ways. One is to protect the farmer as we do the manufacturer so that his labor may be profitable, and the other is the policy which is carried on so successfully by our National Department of Agriculture and by the Department of Agriculture in our State to teach farmers how to utilize to the best advantage their soil. Our lands have been so cheap and so accessible that it did not pay to farm scientifically, and when the farm ran down so that it was no longer profitable it was easy for the family to move to fresh fields and virgin soil. That opportunity has gone. They are raising in France from the same fields which bore harvests when our Saviour was preaching in Judea, which bore harvests that fed the legions of Julius Cæsar, the same amount per acre as they did two thousand years ago. France raises 30 bushels of wheat to the acre while the average in the United States has run down from 30 bushels to 14 bushels to the acre. It is a singular fact that the United States with 3,760,000 square miles raises only a little more than double the amount of wheat that France does with 207,000 square miles. The illustration shows that so long as the farm pays and the government and the State help by proper instruction our farm products can be easily trebled, and that we can not only raise ample for our own needs but be one of the largest exporters of foodstuffs.

Balance of Trade in Our Favor Necessary for Our Prosperity.

The balance of trade in our favor has been several hundred millions annually for the last ten years. This has enabled us to maintain the gold standard and furnished both credit and wealth. The balance has been due to our enormous exportation of food products which are diminishing so rapidly that in two or three years we will be importing from other countries. Ten years ago we sent to England 67 per cent of her grain and meats. This last year we sent only 27 per cent and were far outstripped by little Argentina. The imports of Great Britain were in round numbers \$3,000,000,000 and the exports in round numbers less than \$2,000,000,000. That thousand millions of dollars of balance of trade against the

country would have led to bankruptcy except that it was made up and more from interest and dividends from British investments in other countries. In other words, Great Britain on a free trade basis buys a thousand millions of dollars' worth a year more than she can exchange for her own productions and remains solvent by the earnings of British capital employing foreign labor in foreign countries. We have in the United States thirteen billions of capital invested in manufactures employing six millions of operatives and paying three billions a year in wages. What would happen if nearly one-half of this, as is the case with Great Britain, was employed abroad, is appalling to contemplate. It would end in a most disastrous industrial revolution which might also be a bloody one.

Republicans Progressive.

One of the most used and abused words in our political vocabulary is "Progressive." One would think that it had no place in Republican legislation or proposed legislation until within the last year. Progress has been the characteristic of the Republican party since it came into power with Abraham Lincoln down to the last day of the present administration of President Taft. The progressive policies of the party have not lagged behind public opinion but have led public sentiment. They have received the emphatic indorsement of the American people, and at no time more emphatically than in the election of 1908. The enormous increase in productiveness from the farms, the factories and the mines, from new inventions and their applications, from new uses of steam, electricity and water power under favoring laws had from the time of the election of McKinley in 1896 produced conditions of large wealth never dreamed of before. It had created great corporations and had formed great trusts. The problems of seven years ago when Roosevelt became President were practically new ones. It was a serious and a novel question how to regulate the activities of great wealth in business so as to prevent monopoly and at the same time not stop the wheels of progress or curb activities which were essential to the growth of the country and necessary to meet a population increasing abnormally by immigration from other countries to get the benefits to be had only in ours. The machinery of the law was put in operation to punish violators of the law, both under the common law and the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Judge Parker says in his speech at the Democratic convention that the Republican administration has made no effort,

though it was equipped with all the powers of the common law and the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, to prosecute the trusts, but the record of the Attorney-General's office shows that there have been thirty-seven suits brought against these trusts by the United States since 1905. A few of them are pending, but most of them have been successful. They have led to a series of decisions by the Supreme Court under which it is now impossible for a trust whose business is in restraint of trade and to form a monopoly to any longer exist. At the present session of Congress an appropriation of \$200,000 was made to enable the Department of Justice to complete this work. Here is progress on the legal side since 1905 greater than any since the formation of the government down to 1905. There had grown up a system, deprecated by every wise and honest railway manager, of discriminations to favor individuals, firms, towns and cities, and rebates which accomplish the same results, but the rate bill and the anti-discrimination bill, passed under Roosevelt's administration, effectively put an end to these abuses and made their repetition impossible. That was progress of the most marked and beneficent kind. Under President Taft, and by his suggestion, advice and continuing supervision there was enacted into law a bill affecting the railways of the United States which placed all their activities and operations in the control of the government. The rate-making power is the one which is vital to the railroad in its support of its employees, for return upon the capital invested and to secure new capital in the maintenance of its way and equipment and in the extensions necessary to provide for the growth of the territory it serves. At the same time, it is vital to the people that these rates shall be reasonable and just. This power has always rested solely in the discretion of the railway managers, but under the Taft Law, passed in 1910, the Interstate Commerce Commission has absolute power in the regulation of railway rates. None of them can be advanced without its consent and all can be reduced if it so votes, and every authority and power which formerly rested with the railroad managers and the boards of directors in reference to this most important and vital question of the railroads is now lodged entirely with the government, through the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Commerce Court. The Interstate Commerce Commission and the Public Service Commissions in this state are for all practical purposes the dominant members of the Board of Directors of every railroad company. That is

progress under Taft and by Taft and his loyal associates greater than was ever dreamed of until a few years ago. The employees engaged in interstate commerce have been given a relief, for which labor has struggled for years, by removing from the injured and the killed the technicalities and restrictions of contributory negligence which made recovery of damages almost practically impossible. This is a distinct, marked and most beneficent progress in behalf of labor. At the request of President Taft and upon his insistence there was incorporated in the Payne Tariff Bill a provision for an expert commission to pass upon the question at the bottom of all tariff legislation on protection principles upon the cost at home and abroad, and at the request and upon the insistence of President Taft he was given \$250,000 for the work of this commission, an appropriation which was passed by a unanimous Republican vote and unanimously voted against by the Democratic representatives. Our Democratic friends called for tariff revision only upon the report of an expert commission, so did our progressive friends and so did our insurgent friends. The expert commission is in existence. Its members have been appointed by President Taft, and they are using the \$250,000 for this scientific investigation. If this Act is lived up to, and it will be lived up to by its authors and supporters, there never again will be business disturbance by tariff legislation. This commission will find out what schedules are wrong and suggest their corrections. They will find out what particular merchandise is receiving too high protection and how much has been awarded to it beyond the rule of the cost of production here and abroad with a fair margin of profit, and then that schedule will be taken up with information necessary for a correction and reformation. This is progress in tariff legislation in the interests of business and labor beyond any which we have known since Hamilton's first law during Washington's administration.

Democratic Hysteria.

The medical profession note the progress of a disease which they term hysteria, caused by the strenuous life of our strenuous times. The most level-headed citizen is not immune from an attack. At present it seems to be particularly virulent among Democratic editors and orators. My friend, Judge Alton B. Parker, always able, always forceful and heretofore judicial, sees in the quiet of his home at Esopus a spectre which drives sleep from that peaceful locality, the

spectre of Theodore Roosevelt, Dictator. In early days when the judge was a boy, Esopus was famous for haunted houses. John A. Dix, the Democratic candidate for Governor who has the reputation of being a calm, self-possessed, self-poised, level-headed business man, announced in his speech of acceptance to the crowd gathered upon the lawn of his charming residence at Glens Falls that Roosevelt was a public enemy already riding into imperial power on an aeroplane. The prospect was so frightful to the lovers of individual activities and independence, not only in business but in politics, that Charles F. Murphy, the leader of Tammany, who stood immediately in front, fell fainting into the arms of Cohalan, his lieutenant, while the Tammany nominees for Comptroller and State Engineer and Surveyor needed the services of a doctor and the resources of the local drug store to restore their vitality.

We are ninety millions and can raise an army of ten millions of men in a hundred days, and yet one man can make himself dictator. We have the second largest navy in the world and are building a twenty-seven-thousand-ton battleship which will throw a shell weighing a ton ten miles. The vivid imagination of our Democratic orators and editors sees Roosevelt picking up that shell, hurling it back and sinking the ironclad.

Once before our country suffered from a virulent attack of this dictator disease. It was then also, as now, the Democratic party which had it bad. Then it was the man on horseback, and the man was General Grant. Democratic audiences shivered at the prospect of this solitary horseman who was to ride resistlessly into perpetual arbitrary power over the Constitution, the liberties of the people and the people themselves. With the defeat of the party, the man on horseback was consigned to the lumber room which contains the properties of the great and little actors in the drama of Democratic campaigns. There it lay with the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1, with tariff for revenue only, with the stalking horses of 1896, 1900, 1904 and 1908, until it is dragged out for this canvass, and instead of having the dictator on horseback we have him in an aeroplane. Europe does not know whether to be amazed or amused at the possibility in our country of one man through the acclaim of the people assuming arbitrarily the reins of dictatorial and perpetual power. I know of no compliment so poor as these scary predictions to the courage and the intelligence of the American people. We are told that for the first time since 1892 the Democrats are

getting together. Well, they got together in State Convention in old Faneuil Hall, in Boston, and it took the entire police force of the town to get them apart.

Republican State Administration.

A charge of extravagance has been made against Republican administration in our State because of the increase over the appropriations in the administration of Governor Flower, the last Democratic executive. All these increased expenditures are because of the larger undertakings of the State unknown at the time of Governor Flower. Where would the Democratic Governor stop these expenditures? We have taken over from the counties the care of the insane. Would that be abandoned? We have added enormously to the educational facilities of the State. Would that be curtailed? We are building good roads everywhere which are of incalculable value to the farmers. Shall we stop that? We are building a one-hundred-and-one-million-dollar canal which will be completed in three years. Shall we abandon that?

Henry L. Stimson.

The keynote of Mr. Dix's speech of acceptance upon State matters is that if elected Governor he will prosecute and exterminate graft in and about the Legislature. The Republicans have nominated for Governor in Mr. Stimson a public officer who in the service of the government of the United States has been the most successful graft prosecutor known to our criminal law. He has accomplished the difficult feat of indicting and convicting those higher up. He has accomplished a more difficult feat, the recovery for the Treasury of the enormous amount of over three millions and a half of dollars. In this service he has demonstrated a professional ability and courage and an all-around equipment which has never been surpassed in any department of our National or State Government. We boast that the gubernatorial standard of our State has been so high during the last four years with Governor Hughes as to attract the attention of all the other States in the Union. But we have here a candidate who has demonstrated under the most exacting conditions that if he is elected Governor the standard of the gubernatorial office during his administration will be maintained in as high a degree of efficiency, ability and usefulness as ever in the history of our Empire State,

ELECTION OF SENATORS BY THE PEOPLE

If United States Senators are elected by the people instead of by the legislatures the people should be permitted to vote.

The constitutional method of electing senators has worked well for one hundred and twenty-two years. Why experiment?

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
OF NEW YORK

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, JANUARY 24, 1911

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SPEECH
OF
HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

The Senate having under consideration the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 134) proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing that Senators shall be elected by the people of the several States—

Mr. DEPEW said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: The subject under discussion is a joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing that Senators shall be elected by the people of the several States."

Who are the people of the several States? The Constitution leaves us in no doubt on this question. It begins with the immortal declaration:

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

The fourteenth article of the Constitution defines the people by declaring that—

all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and of the States wherein they reside.

The fifteenth amendment declares that—

the rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

The proposed amendment to the Constitution, as reported from the Judiciary Committee and now before the Senate, seems to me to be an effort under the guise of popularizing the election of United States Senators to permit under the Constitution the States to disfran-

chise large classes of their electors. Instead of providing that Senators shall be elected by the people of the several States, it virtually denies the people the right to elect Senators by impairing the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, which were intended to secure the elective franchise to all citizens of the United States. If this be true, then we are paying a tremendous price to secure a change in the present methods of electing United States Senators. The Constitution makes the following provision for the election of Members of Congress:

The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The proposed measure, as reported by the committee and now before the Senate, repeals that portion of the Constitution as to the election of Senators.

When the Democratic friends of the proposed amendment are asked why they want this provision of our Constitution, which has existed for a hundred and twenty-two years, repealed, their answer is that under it the right has been claimed for Congress to interfere with the elective franchise in the several States. In other words, under it Congress has endeavored to so legislate, though that legislation has never been passed, as to permit the negro to vote in the Southern States, and that under it may be found, when the question comes before the Supreme Court of the United States, authority to declare the laws, which in one form or another disfranchise the negro vote in some of the States, unconstitutional. But the proposed amendment which declares—

The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures,

under the guise of giving power directly to the people, permits by the authority of the Constitution unlimited restrictions upon the people's right to vote.

In several States negroes and some others are not allowed to vote for members of the most numerous branch of the legislaturé. With this amendment there is no limit to which they can carry this exclusion.

Now, then, read the language of the proposed amendment, namely:

The electors of each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures—

and then repeal section 4 of Article I of the Constitution, which reads as follows:

The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators—

and all power over the election of Senators passes from Congress and is remitted absolutely to the States. No matter what restrictions the State may place upon suffrage, no matter what denials of the right of suffrage may result from the action of the States, the Senate is powerless.

During the eloquent and exhaustive speech of the Senator from Maryland [Mr. RAYNER] a colloquy occurred between the Senator and the Senators from Utah [Mr. SUTHERLAND] and Nebraska [Mr. BROWN]. The Senator from Maryland then strongly intimated that unless in connection with the proposition to change the mode of electing United States Senators from the legislature to a popular vote there was coupled a repeal of section 4 of Article I of the Constitution the Southern States would reject the whole proposition. As a further illuminating illustration, southern newspapers which are sent me denounce the proposition of the Senator from Utah as an effort to kill the resolution for the popular election of Senators by loading

the proposition down with unnecessary amendments. They do not state what this alleged unnecessary amendment is. They do not inform their readers that the amendment of the Senator from Utah is simply to take out of the pending resolution for popular elections the part which repeals section 4 of Article I of the Constitution. They simply denounce the proposition of the Senator from Utah as an obstruction intended to prevent the change in the method of electing United States Senators from the legislature to the people. But the whole trend of their comment is that unless the repeal of this section of the Constitution which has existed for 122 years is coupled with the resolution for a popular vote the Southern States do not care and will not have the proposed amendment engrafted into the Constitution. In other words, we are informed that the underlying purpose of this movement is to take away from Congress all power over disfranchisement by State laws and remit to the States unlimited authority to limit the suffrage.

There are 300,000 colored voters in the State of New York. I can conceive of nothing which would affect them so deeply and arouse them so thoroughly as a permanent constitutional disfranchisement of their brethren by the votes of Republican Senators. I am sure before the debate has ended, if this resolution is adopted, the colored voters of Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania will protest in so effective a way at the polls as to be felt all over the country.

This resolution virtually repeals the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution. It validates by constitutional amendment laws under which citizens of the United States, constituting in the aggregate more than one-tenth of the electorate, are to be permanently deprived of the right of suffrage. There is no pretense that any conditions may arise in the future under which these laws will be liberalized and the growing

intelligence of the negro electors will be recognized. These laws have their origin in a fear of the negro vote in those States where it is equal to the white vote or larger than the white vote. But they are urged or passed for purely political purposes in States where there is no possible fear of the dominance of the negro vote. Maryland, with a small proportionate negro vote, has tried several times within the last few years to disfranchise the colored people within that State, and the avowed purpose of the Democratic party in the State of Maryland, which is not denied, is to continue this effort until they have succeeded in disfranchising this vote. The Democratic leaders of the State of Oklahoma became alarmed at the enormous immigration coming in there from the Middle West, from the great States of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Iowa. They have passed laws intended to prevent the negro from voting so as to postpone as far as possible the inevitable Republicanization of the State of Oklahoma which will result from this immigration. It is a curious commentary upon our forgetfulness of the results of the war for the Union that we have grown indifferent to such an extent to these provisions which were made the permanent results of that struggle by being engrafted into the Constitution. It becomes a subject of earnest study and of serious reflection whether if it were a mistake to adopt the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments at the close of the Civil War it is not a greater mistake forty-five years afterwards when intelligence and education have made such progress among these people to so impair as to virtually repeal those articles.

The title of this proposition is to allow the people to vote. The purpose and object of the resolution is to permanently prevent the people from voting in any State where a dominant power or oligarchy wishes to disfranchise a certain portion of the citizens of that State. Now, I have sympathized with the conditions of

the people of the Southern States since the Civil War. I have persistently and consistently opposed all the drastic measures which have been presented to interfere with their affairs. I was not in favor of the force bill. I was not in favor of the bill which passed the House of Representatives to enforce the provisions of the fourteenth amendment for the reduction of membership in the House of Representatives in proportion to the reduction of the Negro vote in several States. But when it comes to deliberately voting to undo the results of the Civil War, when it comes by constitutional amendment to permanently taking from 10,000,000 people the rewards of education and intelligence, that reward being in a free government the right to vote, I can not assent to or be silent upon the proposition.

Six years ago this same question came up in the Committee on Privileges and Elections, of which I was a member, and I then proposed this same amendment to the resolution which I have offered here and which reads as follows:

Senate joint resolution 134.

Amendment intended to be proposed by Mr. DEPEW to the joint resolution (S. J. Res. 134) proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing that Senators shall be elected by the people of the several States, viz: On page 2, lines 5, 6, 7, and 8, strike out the words "The electors of each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures," and in lieu thereof insert the following:

"The qualifications of male citizens entitled to vote for United States Senators and Representatives in Congress shall be uniform in all the States, and Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation and to provide for the registration of citizens entitled to vote, the conduct of such elections, and the certification of the result."

This amendment simply says that if the people are to vote for the election of United States Senators, then all the people recognized as citizens under the Constitution of the United States shall be permitted to vote. At that time this proposition of mine was incorporated into

the general resolution, and had the unanimous vote of every Republican member of the committee, even of those who were in favor of changing the method of electing United States Senators from the legislature to the people. When it was adopted the resolution was defeated by the unanimous vote of the Democratic members of the committee. But when I offered it in our Committee on the Judiciary it commanded only one vote beside my own.

I desire to call attention to this phase of the subject and to challenge discussion. I wonder if there has been upon this proposition contained in the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution such a change in public sentiment as would be indicated by a unanimous vote six years ago and by an overwhelming majority the other way to-day.

The Constitution of the United States went into operation on the first Wednesday in March, 1789, and on the 1st day of March, 1911, it will have been in force for 122 years. The language of eulogy has been exhausted in its praise. The greatest intellects among the statesmen of other countries have given it commendation beyond any other instrument which ever came from the hands of man. The United States has grown from a fringe of settlements along the Atlantic coast to its present imperial position among the nations of the world in liberty, opportunity, population, and power under this Constitution practically unchanged. With these 122 years of achievement to its credit only an imperious necessity can justify any change. That imperious necessity should have behind it the practically unanimous and determined voice of the American people.

Every Senator knows that the votes which have been cast in the several States for this measure have been so given in obedience to supposed party expediency and without general discussion. This movement has received more impetus from the advocacy of Mr. Bryan

than from any other cause during the half century since the war. And yet, when Mr. Bryan, with the responsibilities of office upon him as a Member of Congress, proposed his idea of an amendment to the Constitution for this purpose in 1894, he left it for each State to decide whether it would elect United States Senators by the old method or the new. All the States which framed the Constitution and all those that can reckon a quarter of a century to their lives, in selecting men who have shed the greatest honor upon their respective Commonwealths, have invariably named them from the membership of the United States Senate. No method of electing Senators could add to that glorious list. It has been said that governors of States furnish an example to the contrary, but it is the history of governors that they are in for a short time. They rarely succeed themselves, and if they do, only once. I do not know that there is on record a single instance of a governor who has been ten years in the service of his State. Every Senator knows that the value of a member of this body, if he is fit to be a member of it, increases with the years. Every Senator also knows that in popular elections, taking the governor as an example, covering the whole State, the second term would be the limit of the senatorial life of anyone, no matter how distinguished. Our Websters, our Clays, our Calhouns, with all their genius for public life and popular leadership, owed their influence upon the policies of parties and the legislation of the Republic to long experience in the Senate. The results of the primary laws have demonstrated that the United States Senator who comes here under the new system would in a vast majority of cases be the choice of a plurality, and, therefore, a minority candidate. In States where one party is sufficiently in the ascendant to make an election certain, candidates would be as numerous as the ambitions of the citizens, and the successful one on the plurality might represent only a tenth of the electorate.

The favorite of the great cities would always prevent the success of a candidate from the country. In many States, where party discipline and organization have been submerged by the primary, races or religions combine and by their united force, as against the scattered results of the general electorate, secure the necessary plurality for one of their race or religion. There is not the slightest pretense that during the long life of our Government a Senator has ever been placed in this body because of race or religion. I do not share in this distrust of the legislatures. Our several Commonwealths have wisely legislated for the interest of the family, of property, of liberty. I do not assent to the proposition that representative government has the distrust of the people.

The Athenian Assembly was the ideal of popular government. I stood once upon the rocky platform from which Demosthenes addressed the voters of Athens. There were 300,000 slaves and 10,000 citizens. Those 10,000 easily gathered upon the plain in front of the orator. He won from his audience the approval of the measures which he proposed against his antagonists because of his eloquence and his ability to fire the popular imagination, stir the popular enthusiasm, and, through them, influence for the moment popular judgment. By holding up the raw head and bloody bones of Philip of Macedon he swept away all opposition, while Philip of Macedon had no purpose such as Demosthenes charged. We all know the appeals which can move a popular audience. A war speech and the bloody shirt had their influence for twenty-five years after Appomattox. When the new generation of voters came upon the stage these appeals meant nothing to them, and the campaign orators had to write new speeches upon new issues or else retire from the platform, as many of them did, because they could not comprehend the new issues. For twenty-five years more the operation of the railroads was an effec-

tive rallying cry. But legislation has been perfected for the control of the railroads by providing penalties for abuse and conferring such absolute power upon the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Commerce Court that the Government is the paramount member of the directorate of every railroad in the United States, and that has ceased to be the rallying cry. Next, it was the corporations. Again, legislation has largely cured corporate evils. The Sherman antitrust law, strengthened by the decisions of the courts, and the corporation-tax law, exposing every secret of every corporation to the Government and through the Government to the people, furnish power on the one hand to the Government and that publicity on the other which makes corporate iniquities exceedingly difficult and punishment swift and sure.

Now a Chautauqua audience can be raised to frenzied heights of rage by picturing to them that they are the slaves of the interests. The interests are vague, but the more shadowy, like the ghost, the more terrible. Of course the Athenian example is impossible with 100,000,000 people, but the whole theory of democratic government in its evolution in Europe and in America is to escape on the one side from the arbitrary power of the autocrat, backed up by control of the army, the navy, the treasury, and taxes, and, on the other hand, to devise processes by which the passions of the hour shall not crystallize into legislation without plenty of time for deliberation and calm judgment. In a sense every form of representative government may be called distrust of the people. Wherever a measure must take its chances first with the Lower House and then with the Upper House and then again in running the gauntlet must escape the club of the veto of the Executive every step is distrust of popular government. But it is a false idea to say that such distrust means lack of confidence in the people or means defying the popular will. It is simply that where the

great mass of the population are engaged in industrial pursuits, which absorb their minds and time, they must necessarily select from among their own number those whom they think best fitted for the tasks upon whom they devolve, as President or as Senator or as Representative or as governor or as member of the legislature, the perfection of measures and the enactment of laws which are for the best interests of the people.

I have received many letters since I introduced my amendment, indicating the trend of popular thought; and many editorials not proper to be read in the Senate. Some of them go to an extreme which ought to please that eloquent advocate of popular government, the distinguished Senator from Oregon [Mr. BOURNE], and his recently organized salvation army. [Laughter.] They say, "Abolish the Senate. It is no further of any use. It was all very well when there were no railroads, no telegraphs, and no telephones, or morning and evening papers, to have a Senate to hold in check the House until the people could be heard from; but now, with all these means of instantaneous and intelligent information, the people are informed every day, can reach their immediate Representatives every hour, and they need no protection by a conservative and critical body elected for a longer term and with securer hold of office." Others say, "In amending the Constitution, so amend it that no representative of the interests can be a Senator." They define the interests as every man who, in his personal business or in any employment he may have, is interested in legislation. They bar out everyone who, directly or indirectly, may be affected by the tariff. They bar out all who are counsel for those who may be affected by the tariff. They bar out all stockholders, bondholders, and counsel of corporations. They bar out labor unions. They reduce the opportunities for choice by this process of elimination until, if they ultimately succeed, the United States Senate will be composed entirely of undertakers,

whose profits are in the increasing number of those who die. [Laughter.]

There is a vast amount of humbug about this talk of the interests. I have been a conspicuous victim of it. I have been most of my life in the railway service, and also active in public affairs. I am proud of the fact that while president of the then greatest railroad in the country my State unanimously presented me for President of the United States in the national convention. I decided never to sever nor deny my business associations. It is an insult to the 2,000,000 men who are in the railway service for one of them to admit directly or indirectly that it is impossible for a railway man to serve the public as well as a farmer, or a manufacturer, or a lawyer, or a merchant, or a doctor, or a minister, or a mechanic. I have found no difficulty in serving in the Senate under the administrations of President McKinley, President Roosevelt, and President Taft in supporting, by voice and vote, every administration measure of President McKinley, President Roosevelt, and President Taft. As a matter of fact, the railway man in the public service is uncommonly anxious to prove that the interests of his constituents, the people, are his paramount duty. But we all know that it has never been considered any discredit for a Member of Congress who is either a manufacturer, a miner, a farmer, or an importing merchant to actively labor for such modifications of a tariff bill as may be in the interests of the business or occupation to which he belongs, or a labor member to work for labor legislation.

There is one view of this proposed change in the Constitution which has not received the attention it deserves. It is said that legislatures are more easily influenced by money consideration than popular elections. It is well known that in the primary contests for United States Senator, which are the equivalent of a popular election, there have been expended sums of money so vast that they are beyond anything ever

charged or dreamed of in legislatures. The record of the State legislatures in the election of Senators for 122 years is singularly clear of malign influences. But the critical situation is that which would be created in cases of contested elections. As it is now the Senate, in judging of the qualifications of its members, has a very plain and simple duty. The doings of a representative body of limited numbers are easily inquired into and the Senate committee always has the assistance of committees of the legislature, of grand juries, and of prosecuting attorneys. But in a State-wide election for United States Senator the happenings at every polling place would become a matter of charges and of investigation. We all know that the taking of testimony in those contests generally occupies a session and sometimes the whole term of the member. There are 4,668 election districts in the State of New York and a proportionate number in every other State, according to population. It is no exaggeration to say that in many of these election districts there is always a large expenditure of money in the purchase of votes. The scandals of Adams County, Ohio, now under investigation, where 2,000 of the 5,000 voters have already been convicted, is of course a rare case of the corrupt use of money. But the Ohio papers of both parties say that while not in so large a degree, yet to a certain degree, such conditions exist not in whole counties, but in city wards and county precincts scattered through the State. If the election of a United States Senator had been according to the new proposition, the Committee on Privileges and Elections would be instructed to investigate these charges, if not before, yet immediately upon, the taking of his seat by the new Senator, **ATLEE POMERENE**. There have been over 400 contested-election cases in the House of Representatives. Four-fifths of them have been notoriously decided by partisan considerations. In every case, if there is a shadow of a doubt, the doubt is in favor of the contestant who

belongs to the majority. If the Senate was close, as the times indicate it will be within an early period, the majority would have committees probing into every election district in States which had elected a Senator who would help in turning the minority of this body into a majority against its sitting members. The contest would be interminable, the situation deplorable, and the decision, whatever it might be, partisan, or at least so charged and generally believed.

The doctrine has been advanced here by all those who have expressed an opinion in opposition to the Senator from Illinois retaining his seat that where there is any bribery proven the seat of the Senator must be vacated. Under that doctrine the record of Adams County would only have to be presented to the Senate and the new Senator from Ohio would not be permitted to take his seat. The whole matter would be remitted back to the State of Ohio for another popular election, with possibly a repetition of the first result.

We all know, and we are all proud of the fact, that the lobby has disappeared from Washington. When I was here during the Civil War the hotels were filled with lobbyists, and scandals charged against individual Senators and Members of the House were so current as to be common and excite no comment. The same was true for a decade at least following the Civil War. But to-day there is no breath of suspicion against the vote by which the great measures of the last twenty years, affecting as they have in the most vital way the wealth, the productive power, the capital, and the labor of the country, have been enacted into law.

Two sets of States, though having entirely different interests, are cordially united in pressing this legislation. They are the new States, with small populations compared with the older ones, and what were formerly known as the slave States of the Union. This is the only measure on which is unfortunately revived the "solid South." I warn each of them that they are pry-

ing off the lid from Pandora's box. They are letting loose the devils to pursue them with increasing aggressiveness, force, and strength during the coming years. Among a people who regard with such extreme reverence, and I might say awe, their Constitution, as do the people of the United States, sentiment is a tremendous factor in the preservation of existing conditions. Change existing conditions and sentiment is buried by the overwhelming force of interest. The goal of all ambitious States has always been power. In the formation of the Republic and the compromises which brought about the Federal Union, power was surrendered by the more populous States to the less populous in representation in the Senate, and surrendered also to the slave-holding States in representation in the House of Representatives. But we propose deliberately to raise this Frankenstein and send him upon his resistless way.

In the debates in that marvelous convention which framed the Constitution—those wise men, who were actuated by only one motive, and that the formation of an indestructible union of sovereign States into an all-powerful republic—two things were unanimously agreed to, one that each State in its sovereign capacity should have equal representation of its sovereignty by two ambassadors called Senators in the Federal Senate, and the other that the corporate representation of the State—the legislature—should elect these two ambassadors. They thus preserved on the one hand the equal sovereignty of all the States, large and small, through equal representation in this branch of the Federal Government, and on the other, to prevent growing populations in some States from endeavoring to disturb the equality of representation in the upper House, they selected State legislatures as the medium through which the voice of the State should be expressed. This process has impressed with equal wonder and admiration De Tocqueville, Gladstone, and

Bryce, the three greatest writers upon the Constitution of the United States. In fact, when French statesmen were framing the machinery for the third Republic of France they decided that one of the best means of avoiding the rocks upon which the other two had been wrecked was to have a senate elected upon lines similar to those which exist in our Constitution. They had no States, but they created artificial States. They divided France into senatorial districts, combining in each district a number of districts which were represented in the popular chamber. They fixed a long term for their senators. In the senate district, when a vacancy occurs, the members of the lower house from that district, the mayors of the cities and of the villages, meet in convention and elect a senator. French statesmen of to-day with whom I have talked claim that many a time in the nearly forty years of the existence of the present Republic, this check by such a senate upon the turbulent passions of the hour of the lower house has given the people time to think and saved the Republic from ruin.

Now, as to the Southern States and their anxiety to preserve their present exclusive election laws: The average number of voters required to elect a Member of Congress in the State of New York is 38,408. The average number in the whole United States is 31,196. The average number of voters for Congressman in the nine States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia is 8,266. In Mississippi 3,000 elect a Congressman; in South Carolina, 4,341; in Georgia, 5,072; and in Arkansas, 5,886. Now, then, thirty-eight States of the American Union have a population of 45,780,297, while ten States have a population of 45,860,900; and yet these ten States have twenty Senators and the thirty-eight States, with practically the same population, have seventy-six. The four contiguous States of Idaho, Nevada, Utah, and Wyoming have a population of

926,785. The four States of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Ohio have a population of 27,184,437. On a popular basis of representation by the people these four States of Idaho, Nevada, Utah, and Wyoming have four Members of the House of Representatives, while on the same basis the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Ohio have 115 Members of the House of Representatives. But in the United States Senate this 927,000 of population of these four States have eight Senators, while the 27,184,000 of the other four States have also eight Senators.

Mr. BACON. Mr. President—

The VICE PRESIDENT. Will the Senator from New York yield to the Senator from Georgia?

Mr. DEPEW. Certainly.

Mr. BACON. I do not desire to interrupt the Senator's argument, but at the same time I do not desire the RECORD shall go abroad without, in a certain sense, an issue upon one statement made by the Senator, not directly but by implication, in regard to the number of votes cast in the South in the election of Representatives. The implication is that the vote is a representation of the population or of those who are the legal voters or of those who participate in the selection of Representatives.

Mr. DEPEW. Of those who are permitted to vote.

Mr. BACON. I will say something about that a little later. Of those who are the legal voters in the State, the implication is that there is a representation. The fact is that in those States where there is such a small vote cast at the regular election the true election is the primary election. I will state, by way of illustration, that in a primary election in my State where there will be between two and three hundred thousand votes cast in the primary election there will be fifty or sixty or seventy thousand votes cast at the regular election, the election provided by law. The reason for that is simply that there is but one political party in the

State, the other party not even making nominations, so that when the contest between individuals who compete for the nomination has been decided the election in November at the date prescribed by law is one in which there is no contest, and consequently no inducement for people to go to the polls.

Now as to the question as to who are permitted to vote I will state to the Senator as to my State, and I presume it is true as to other States equally, that no man is denied the right to vote who has the qualifications under the law to vote; that there is no obstruction whatever to any man's voting who has the right to vote; and the question of his right to vote is one which is to be settled by the courts and not by the suggestions which the Senator makes now in a side remark as to who are permitted to vote, implying that those are not permitted to vote who are entitled to vote.

I do not desire to enter into that discussion now, and I did not rise for that purpose. The only purpose I had was that in the very interesting speech of the Senator, and the very strong speech, the suggestion made by him as to the number of those who vote in those States might not go out as being even by implication a statement of the fact that they are a representation of those who, in fact, take part in the choosing of Representatives. They are but a very small part of those who, in fact, determine the question who shall be the Representatives in Congress.

Mr. DEPEW. Mr. President, not desiring any further interruption until I have completed my speech, I will simply say in response to the Senator from Georgia that what I was really referring to is the fact of the disproportionate number of voters in proportion to the population in the Southern States and in the Northern States. In many of the Southern States so many electors are disfranchised that it takes twenty-seven voters in New York to equal one voter in a Southern State. When an investigation is made it will be found that the

same is true of the primary, that because of the large number disfranchised the vote does not correspond to the population, as it does in other States where these restrictive laws do not exist.

Now, as to the qualifications or disqualifications, undoubtedly nobody votes in those States except those who are qualified by the State laws. But who are disqualified? We all know the grandfather clause, which is still in existence in many of the States. But there are others. For instance, there is the educational clause.

Mr. BACON. Found also in Massachusetts.

Mr. BAILEY. It ought to be found in all of them.

Mr. DEPEW. But in its application very different in Massachusetts. In that State the voter is asked to demonstrate his power to read and write, but in the States where the Negro is disfranchised the educational clause is used by the canvassing officers to apply tests which few citizens could meet. A very interesting story was told me, and sometimes an illustration shows the situation better than an argument. This story was told me by a friend of mine, a southerner, a Yale man, and therefore entitled to belief on all questions. He said that at a precinct in his county a negro preacher came up to vote. The canvassing officer said, "You know under our law you have to read and write." "Well," he said, "I was educated at Howard University and at the Howard Theological School; I can read and write." "Do you understand the Constitution of the United States? That is another requisite." "Well," said the clergyman, "I know it by heart, and think I understand it." "Well," said the canvasser, "under the Constitution of the United States you must get out a writ of habeas corpus before you can be permitted to cast a vote, and do you know what a habeas corpus is?" The minister answered, "No, Mr. Canvasser; I do not know what a habeas corpus is, but I do know that a negro can not vote in the State of Mississippi." [Laughter.]

Parties are always seeking paramount issues. The great leader of the Democratic Party made this question of changing the method of the election of United States Senators, as he thought, a paramount issue. It failed to materialize as he imagined it would, because there was no popular response, and there is none to-day. But the glaring inequality exhibited by the figures which I present are a firm foundation for a paramount issue. The resistless cry from the stump and from the press will be, "Less than a million of people shall not be permitted to neutralize and possibly defeat the wishes of over 27,000,000 citizens. This is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, and here is a small oligarchy blocking the progress and defeating the wishes of an overwhelming majority. We have paved the way for this reform. It took us, the people, 122 years to get rid of the fetish of the sacredness of the Constitution. Now we have buried that bugaboo, and the people, having come into their own in part, must regain the whole of the power to which they are entitled." What are our friends who are so gayly and hilariously pushing this proposition going to answer before indignant multitudes to this natural sequence? The next slogan for popular appeal will be "Mend the Senate or end it."

I remember before the Civil War and before the abolition of slavery was advocated by any except a mere handful of abolitionists that one of the issues hotly debated and earnestly pressed was to take away from the slave States the representation to which they were entitled in Congress because of their slaves. This agitation made no headway whatever, and was met invariably by the sentimental answer of the people that this part of the Constitution was agreed to by the fathers, and they would not go back on them. Every intelligent student of the present rapid trend toward popular government must see what would happen when this sentimental bar

of the States being represented by two Senators instead of by the people in the United States Senate is thrown down. The initiative, the referendum, and the recall are but symptoms of the times. That the people will have their way, because they, and they alone, are the Government, is the underlying spirit of our institutions, of our newest State Constitutions, and of our progressive laws. Skillful agitation seizes upon every pretext and eagerly grasps and enlarges every opportunity for appeal to the passions in an advancement of its purposes. The next cry will necessarily be, "Why not elect the Supreme Court of the United States by popular vote? Why not elect the Federal judiciary everywhere by popular vote?" Unless we admit that the fathers made a mistake, and a grave one, in throwing these restrictions upon the immediate expression of the passion of the hour into legislation or decision, there is no legitimate answer to such a proposition. A constitutional convention can abrogate the promise of equality of the States in the Senate in the present Constitution. Let the wave rise high enough and thirty millions of people will not consent to have their will thwarted and their laws enacted by five millions. In the jealousies of the colonies, large and small, it was easy to make this compromise, because for the formation of the Republic it was necessary to have all the colonies in as sovereign States. But we have demonstrated by the most gigantic, the most bloody, and the most costly war of history that no State can go out of the Union, and the effort on the part of these sparsely populated States to resist by force their taking their share in legislation in the upper House as they do in the lower House—in proportion to their population—would be treated with scorn and contempt. Majorities are never sentimental and, when they believe they are right, never merciful. "The power is ours by nature and by right, and we will come into our own," will be the cry of the majorities in the future, and there is no logical answer to the claim.

I have spoken thus earnestly from profound conviction. Certainly no Senator can be freer from selfish motives than I am. This legislation can affect my career in the future neither one way nor the other. I have the profoundest reverence, which no language can adequately express, for this wonderful Constitution of the United States. My twelve years' service in this body has increased the life-long admiration I had for it, and to that admiration from this long association with its members has come the tenderest affection. I do not object to changes, even revolutionary changes, when the reasons for them are adequate and when the transparent evils from action are not greater than the prophesied good.

The Senators who have been reelected and the new ones who have been chosen by the legislatures of their several States this year are selections which could not be improved upon by any new method. Of our present Members Massachusetts returns here one of the most brilliant and able statesmen who ever represented that Commonwealth, Mr. LODGE; Maryland gives us back that great lawyer and resourceful debater, Senator RAYNER; Minnesota returns one of our hardest working and most valuable Members, Senator CLAPP; North Dakota honors itself and strengthens the Senate by giving back to us one who has rendered his State and country such distinguished service, Senator McCUMBER; Pennsylvania returns to us a journalist and a business man who has proved a most useful Senator, Senator OLIVER; Texas continues in her service, and that of the Republic, a Senator who has been so long the Democratic leader upon the floor, Senator CULBERSON; Utah continues in the Senate one of the ablest constitutional lawyers in this body, Senator SUTHERLAND; Vermont strengthens the ranks of the practical business men who are needed in legislation for a business country like the United States, Senator PAGE; while Wisconsin sends a statesman who has repeatedly proved by popular and

primary elections that he is the choice of his Commonwealth. While he and I would seldom agree upon public questions, yet there is no abler representative of the views and policies entertained by him and large numbers of others than Senator LA FOLLETTE. The same is true of the new Members. We have from California, Judge WORKS; from Connecticut, ex-Gov. MCLEAN; from Indiana, ex-candidate for Vice President on the Democratic ticket, Mr. KERN; from Maine, that brilliant lawyer, CHARLES F. JOHNSON; from Michigan, a statesman tried in the House of Representatives, Mr. TOWNSEND; from Mississippi, the brilliant leader in the House for many years of the Democratic Party, JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS; from Missouri, JAMES A. REED; from Nebraska, GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK; from North Dakota, ASLE J. GRONNA; from Ohio, Lieut. Gov. ATLEE POMERENE; from Washington, MILES POINDEXTER; and from Rhode Island, HENRY F. LIPPITT.

Mr. President, there is a list of Senators selected to serve for the next six years in this body by the legislatures of their States, and no one will assert that if the elections had been of choice by State conventions or directly by the people they would have been either better or abler.

Most of the so-called radical legislation of the past ten years has been really conservative legislation. It has been the correction of admitted evils, the enacting into law of measures for things unknown by previous generations but vital for the present and the future in the development of the country. But here in this proposition we are called upon to disregard the overwhelming lessons of the past and enter upon an untried experiment, to adopt a theory which opens the door for innumerable possibilities of danger to the sovereignty of the States and wise conservatism in the administration of government.

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ADDRESS OF
HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
OF NEW YORK

UPON THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF

HON. STEPHEN B. ELKINS
[Late a Senator from the State of West Virginia]

DELIVERED IN THE
SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1911



WASHINGTON
1911



ADDRESS
OF
HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

The resolutions (S. Res. 346) were read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

"Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. STEPHEN B. ELKINS, late a Senator from the State of West Virginia.

"Resolved, That as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the business of the Senate be now suspended to enable his associates to pay proper tribute to his high character and distinguished services.

"Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased Senator."

Mr. DEPEW said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: At no time in its history has death in so short a period removed from the Senate so many of its Members. DANIEL of Virginia, ELKINS of West Virginia, DOLLIVER of Iowa, CLAY of Georgia, MCENERY of Louisiana, and HUGHES of Colorado, were among the most valued and distinguished Senators. Many of them had been long in the public service and won national reputations. In their careers, activities, and characteristics they represented distinct types of American citizenship.

I might select for comparison ELKINS, DANIEL, and DOLLIVER. Senator DANIEL was almost the last of that line of southern orators whose fervid eloquence and glowing rhetoric made famous the forum and the platform before the Civil War. He had lofty ideals of government and civic duty. He had an intense pride in the greatness and glory of the country, and drew inspiration from the past for guidance in the present. The wonderful material developments since the Civil War, the increase in national, and especially in individual, wealth, did not appeal to him. He never possessed

either greed for gain or lust for fortune. He was an idealist of a rare type, whose great gifts were devoted to the realization of those ideals in the preservation of the constitutional limitations of the powers of the Federal and the State governments, and to bringing back the people to what he regarded as the purer and higher life of the fathers of the Republic. A chivalric figure both on the battle field and in the Senate, he brought the knightly virtues of a romantic age to the solution of the prosaic problems of the day. Senator DOLLIVER, on the other hand, was intensely modern. From the parsonage of his father, in which he received his early training, he carried into public life the spirit of the missionary. He was possessed of a rare faculty for oratory, and equally brilliant in argument, appeal, ridicule, and humor. He came while young into public life and from a constituency which promised a long continuance in the public service.

He never was in contact with and cared little for the wonderful opportunities for men of masterful genius in affairs which have created the phenomenal fortunes of the past forty years. He was essentially a tribune of the people. His mind was absorbed in the solution of the economic problems of protection and revenue in a way which, according to his faith, would add to the wealth of the Republic and the individual prosperity of every citizen. He studied the movements of the markets with the sole purpose of originating and promoting such legislation as would keep our places of trade and barter as far as possible for the benefit of the producers and workers of the United States. He also believed in such use of the prestige, power, and diplomacy of the country as would win an open door for our surplus in competition with the great manufacturing nations of the world into the Orient and Africa. He died, as he had lived, on his chosen battlefield, using all his powers and exhausting his energy and vitality for ideas which he believed would eventuate in

policies and measures for the best interests of the people. The chivalric knight from Virginia and the modern soldier from Iowa filled large and useful places in our political economy and have left few successors.

Senator ELKINS presented an entirely different and equally useful type of American citizenship and activity in public life. He was preeminently the business man in politics in its best sense. He was a pioneer and a promoter. He could turn the wilderness into productive possibilities which would attract and support masses of people. He could project and construct railroads for the development of the mine and the forest, and won for himself by his genius for affairs an enormous fortune. Yet as a Senator he brought the invaluable aid of his experience, his business acumen, and his knowledge of affairs to legislation which was for the protection of the people against the misuse of millions and the creation or the existence of monopoly.

A contemplation of the lives of these three statesmen presents a vivid picture of varying conditions in the forty-eight Commonwealths which constitute our Federal Union. In many of the States there has been cultivated a hostility to corporations and wealth which builds bars of insuperable height and strength against any man, no matter how gifted, who has made a success in corporate management or accumulated a fortune in active business, becoming a representative of the people in public office. Such communities believe they are best served by theorists and idealists. They accept with eagerness and enthusiasm the various panaceas which are so skillfully manufactured and so attractively presented for the cure of the ills of the body politic. But West Virginia and other States similarly situated present a remarkable contrast. Limitless wealth and opportunities for employment and the accumulation of a competence lie in the mines in her mountains and valleys, and her primeval forests. Instead of locking up her boundless resources she wel-

comes capital and capitalists who will open her mines, build her villages, enlarge her cities, improve her water powers, and construct her railroads. Ever since her organization as a State she has sent to both Houses of Congress the men who were doing this work in her behalf, while they were accumulating, or had accumulated, large fortunes by their efforts. Her people recognized that every mine opened meant more families supported and more opportunities for the youth, and every railroad built or extended meant the wilderness converted into boundless opportunities for development, for population, and for prosperity. She believed that the men whose genius, energy, experience, and money were accomplishing these results could best secure for her the legislation which would redound to the progress of the State and the benefit of its people. Senator ELKINS was easily the leader among these bold and adventurous spirits who dare risk their all, because they know if they live success is certain to crown their efforts.

ELKINS, the legislator, though a railroad promoter and owner, saw the necessity, for the protection of the people and of investors, of a large measure of Government control over railroad corporations. As the head of the great Committee of Interstate Commerce he had charge of the measures which have accomplished so much in preceding administrations and the present one to remove the railway from politics, to reform and punish abuses, to give shippers and the traveling public a tribunal with power for instantaneous redress, and to secure stability to business and credit by the largest measure of Government activity in railway affairs. The antirebate bill, which goes by the Senator's name, was his own creation. By supervision and penalties he prohibited discriminations in favor of individuals or communities and compelled these great corporations to treat all alike. So the railway rate bill of the Roosevelt administration and the railroad bill of the Taft

administration, distinct advances in the line of wise corporate control, greater than had been accomplished since the first locomotive was placed upon the rails eighty-one years ago, passed through his formative hands as the chairman of the committee that had them in charge and were conducted by his skill and genius as a parliamentarian in their passage through the Senate.

A young American who has finished his college course and continued his law studies until admitted to the bar has the world before him. It is the critical initial period which tests the fiber of his being. He may settle down in his native village or take the more perilous plan of entering the contest in a large city or move to new territory to grow up with the country. His choice and the few years following it indicate his future and fix his career. In 1864 New Mexico was as distant, almost, as Japan now is and as little known in the States. The Spanish adventurer Coronado had conquered the Indians and settled the territory with his followers seventy years before the Pilgrim Fathers landed on Plymouth Rock.

The Territory had been in 1864, when Mr. ELKINS went there, only fourteen years annexed to the United States, and its population was still overwhelmingly Spanish. The conservatism of the people is best illustrated by the fact that the first rail was not laid down in the Territory until 1878. Young ELKINS, looking around for the best field for a career, selected this distant Territory. His magnetism, his charm, his resistless energy, and the fact that within a year he had acquired the Spanish language, captured the imagination and confidence of these Latins, who had met no one like him in the over two hundred years of their settlement. They sent him to the legislature and elected him twice to Congress. In the House of Representatives he came in contact with the brilliant men who were Members of that body in the Forty-third and Forty-

fourth Congresses. With his alert and receptive mind, with his rare faculty of soon gaining an intimacy with strong characters, he speedily absorbed an intimate knowledge of the resources and business opportunities of the different sections of the country. He recognized early the fortunes there were in the acquisition of coal lands, if they could be reached and developed by cheap transportation. He saw that the future for him was not in the slow-moving life of New Mexico, but in bringing into channels of trade the treasures which had been accumulating for ages beneath the soil of West Virginia. I remember how, in the early years of his life in West Virginia, I used to meet him often in New York trying to inspire men of means with his own confidence and enthusiasm in the resources of his State. Always hopeful, perennially optimistic, neither indifference nor incredulity nor rebuffs could discourage or dishearten him. He brought into the counting-rooms of finance the fresh and invigorating atmosphere of his mountain home. By his earnestness, his indefatigable industry, his wonderful ability to win the hardest-headed to his faith, he advanced by many years the progress and development of his State.

Few versatile men are successful. Concentration is the secret of power, but nature endows some highly gifted with the ability to concentrate with equal success in many lines. Senator ELKINS was one of these fortunate individuals. Notwithstanding the cares and anxieties which attend the initial processes of the development of nature's resources, he found leisure to be for twelve years one of the most active and influential members of the Republican national committee. We of the older generation know the trust which was reposed in him by his fellow members and the extent to which the greatest responsibilities were placed upon his shoulders. I never shall forget a dramatic scene between him and the Republican candidate for President, James G. Blaine. It was just after the famous meeting of the

presidential candidate with a thousand Protestant ministers when three words uttered by their spokesman ended the most hopeful of canvasses and changed the course of American history. Mr. ELKINS was responsible for bringing about this meeting, which was all right in its conception and intended to remove the prejudice which had grown up among Protestants because of Mr. Blaine's family relationship to the Catholic Church. Of course, no one could foresee that the preacher, who was also the spokesman, had a formula which he had used a hundred times successfully from the pulpit, but which when it became a part of the literature on one side of political controversy proved a can of dynamite for the cause it was uttered to promote. No one saw the disastrous effects of coupling together rum, romanism, and rebellion more clearly than did Mr. Blaine. He was naturally for a while not only indignant, but unreasonable, and yet, when he saw how deeply affected was Mr. ELKINS, Blaine put his arm around ELKINS's neck and said in that tone of tenderness which captured and bound to him thousands, "Steve, it was planned for the best, and no one could have foreseen what has occurred."

The few who witnessed the incident knew what a load it lifted from the heart of the one and how deep and abiding was the affection of each for the other.

I had an illustration of Senator ELKINS's methods of accomplishing results. After his second nomination and the retirement of Mr. Blaine from the Cabinet, President Harrison tendered to me the position of Secretary of State. I told him I could not take it because, as president of the greatest railway system in the country, it would inject in the then inflamed condition of the public mind on railway questions an unnecessary issue into the canvass, which had four months to run before the election. The President did not think so, and sent Mr. ELKINS, then Secretary of War, to persuade me. He did not argue with me, but said, "Come,

let's take a walk," and he led me over to the State Department and then pointed to the portraits of those who had occupied that great place, among them Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall, James Madison, James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, Martin Van Buren, Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, Edward Everett, and William H. Seward, and said:

There is a list far more eminent and distinguished than the Presidents of the United States. To have your picture hung in that line is fame.

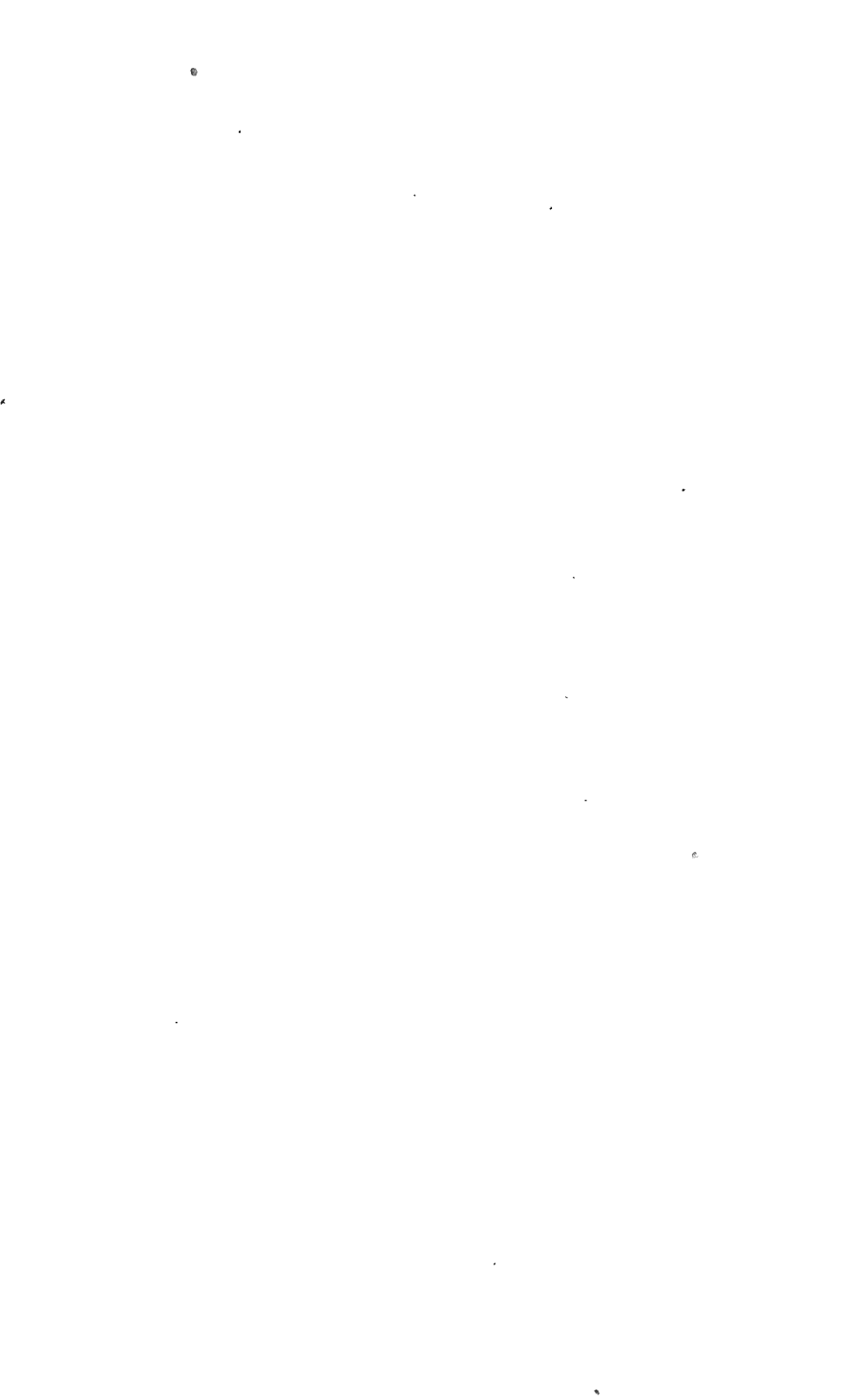
To Senator ELKINS were granted a rare equability of temper and equilibrium of mind. He was an earnest partisan and stated his views on all public questions with the vigor of profound conviction, but he never uttered a word which injured anyone's feelings or left a sting behind. When partisan rancor was most bitter and passions intense he was equally welcome with every faction of his own party and of the opposition.

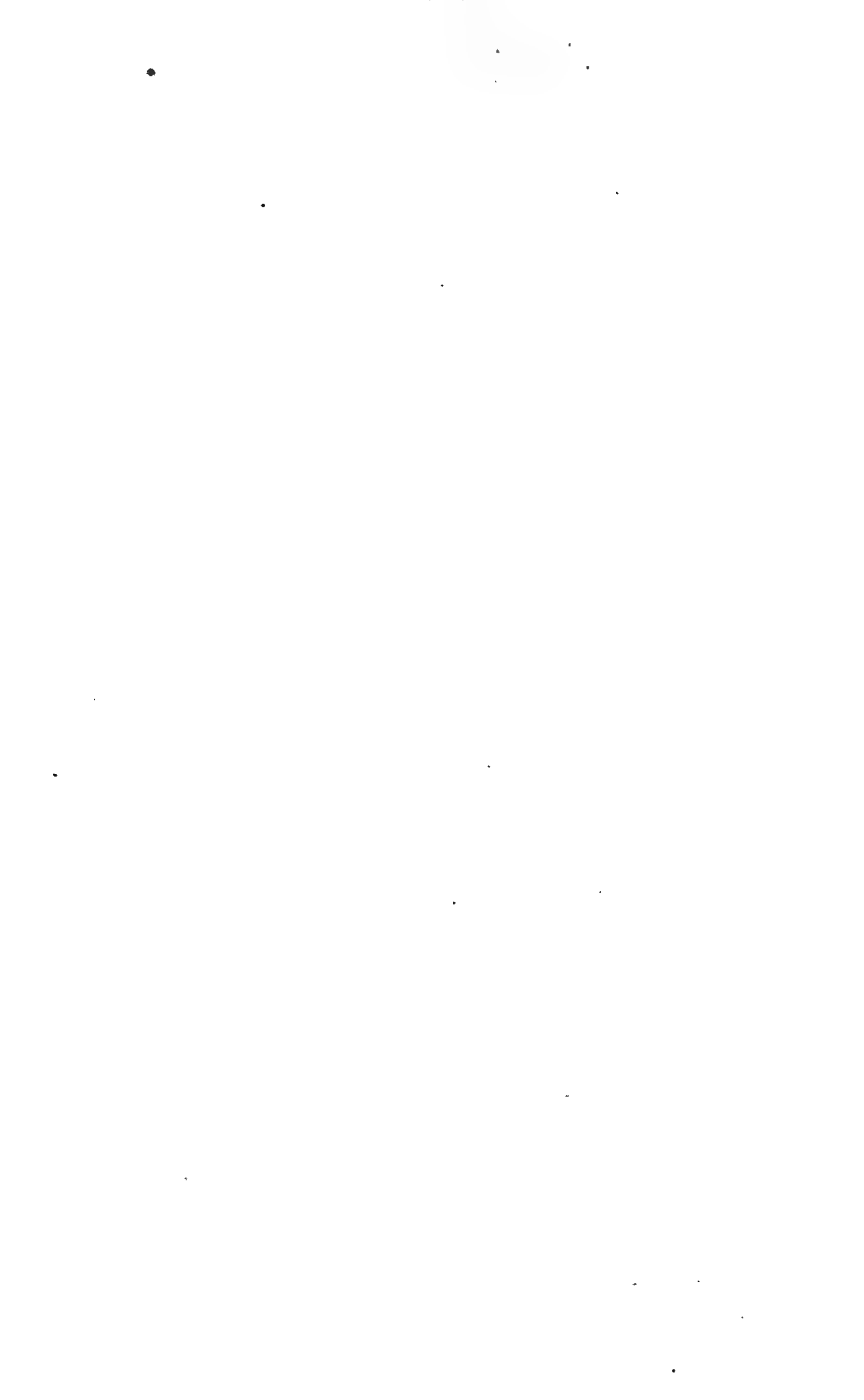
Senator ELKINS was a big man physically, mentally, and sympathetically. Successful men have hard experiences, with temporary setbacks, discouraging failures, of faithless friends and implacable enemies. Their experiences harden them against appeals from suffering humanity. But for the Senator these trials broadened his charity. He was remarkably free from enmities and animosities. To forgive and forget were his nature and policy. He was first beside friends in sorrow or sickness, and his affectionate interest and bracing vitality were of infinite help and comfort. If the trouble was financial, instead of avoiding the unfortunate, which is the common way, he would drop his own great affairs to take up those of his friend. If the enterprise was sound and required more pecuniary assistance to tide over the depression of a panic or a mistaken calculation, his sagacity and money would change the situation from impending bankruptcy to prosperity. Though not an orator, yet in debate upon the purely material propositions, which consti-

tute most of our legislation, his common sense, practical experience, and lucidity made him a dangerous adversary and persuasive advocate. The memory of this happy, healthy, helpful figure in our public life will long linger among the best traditions of the Senate. West Virginia is destined to become one of the most prosperous of our industrial Commonwealths. As the State grows because of the development of its exhaustless natural resources, so will the fame of one of its greatest State builders, STEPHEN B. ELKINS.

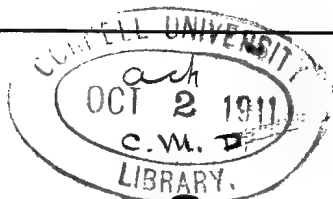
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RECENT SPEECHES

OF

Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, LL.D.

At the Twentieth Annual Dinner given by the Montauk Club, of Brooklyn, in celebration of Senator Depew's Seventy-Seventh Birthday, April 29, 1911.

At the Annual Dinner of the University Club, Washington, D. C., February 27, 1911.

At the Dinner given to Senator Depew by the Republican Club of the City of New York, April 7, 1911.

At the Dinner given to Ex-Presidents of the Union League Club of the City of New York, April 8, 1911.

At the Dinner given by the Pilgrims Society of New York to Mr. John Hays Hammond, Special Ambassador to the Coronation of King George V, at Plaza Hotel, May 24, 1911.

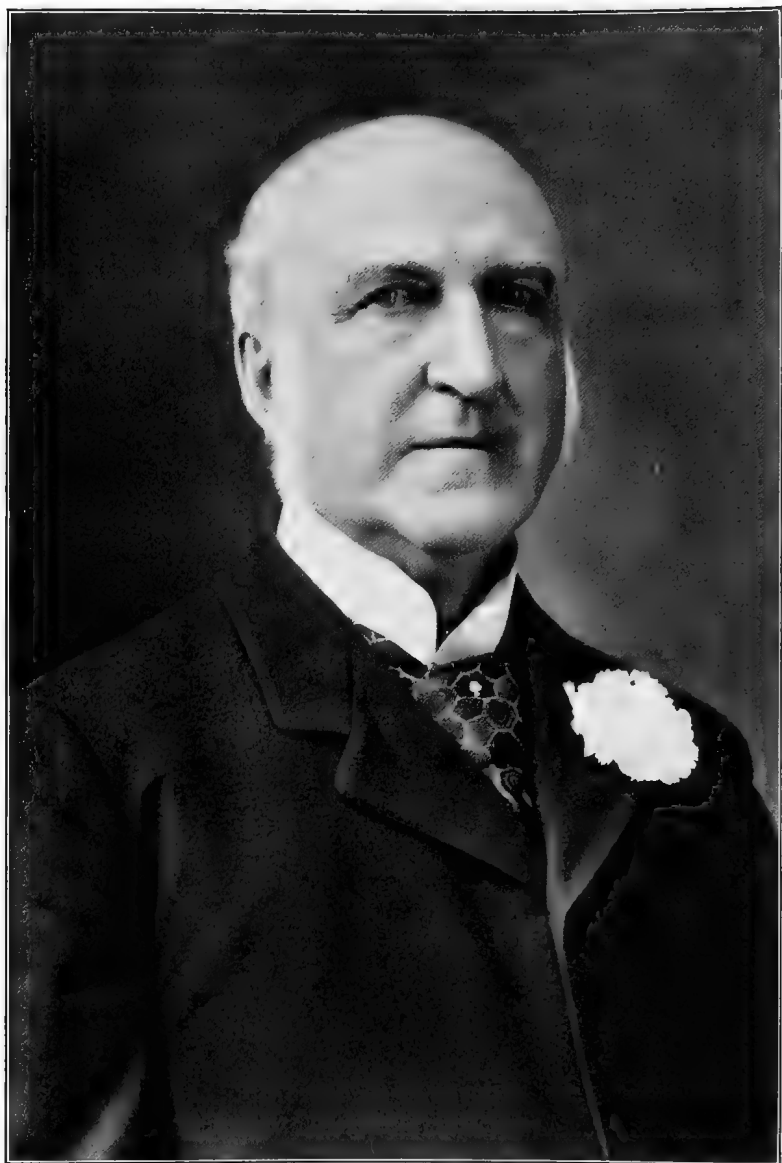
At a Masonic Celebration at the Manhattan Opera House, New York, April 13, 1911.

At the Luncheon of the Society of Cincinnati and their guests from other State Societies, Metropolitan Club, New York, May 10, 1911.

Article by Mr. Arthur Wallace Dunn, of Washington, D. C., on Mr. Depew's Retirement from the Senate.







Chauncey M. Depew.

ments of
Chauncey M. Depew

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Twentieth Annual Dinner given by the
Montauk Club of Brooklyn in Celebration of his
Seventy-Seventh Birthday, on April 29, 1911.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: It is very interesting that the twentieth successive dinner which you have given me on my birthday should coincide with this club coming of age. Twenty-one years of club life to those who have been members from the beginning is always full of charm. The club is the nearest association to the family possible without domestic ties. A man who has a sympathetic disposition and loves to mingle with his fellowmen upon a basis more intimate than is afforded in business will have among the living, and, in memory, those who have passed away, an invaluable asset of choicest friendships. In no place as in the club does human nature reveal itself at its best and at its worst. Members become natural with each other and their selfishness or their good fellowship increases with the years.

I recall those who were present at that first birthday celebration, and each one of them since has had distinctive features. It has differed from all other affairs of the kind because of its publicity and its freedom of discussion. The influence of words uttered here or revelations made here have at times reached far beyond the limits of this city. But these celebrations have also had every characteristic of the family birthday when the recipient is made happy because all present rejoice in the anniversary, hope for its indefinite recurrence and each of them can feel and sing "He is a jolly good fellow, which nobody will deny."

One of the most interesting of these anniversaries was given me the year I entered the Senate, and now we are here the year that I retire. Twelve years in that great deliberative body is wonderfully educational as well as enjoyable. It has often been called a club and said to be the best in the United

Senator Depew's birthday is April 23rd, but, owing to local conditions, the celebration of the event this year was the 29th.

States. In a sense, it is. Within its walls, except in debate upon political questions, there are no divisions of parties. Republicans and Democrats, Stand-patters and Progressives, mingle on the floor, in committee rooms, in the cloak room and the dining room, with a daily familiarity which speedily removes the rough edges from the most acidulous, irritable and irritating of Senators. In the course of years, with hardly an exception, they all become cordial friends, with the heartiest good wishes for long continuance in the Senate. There is a great difference in the jubilant expectations with which one enters upon a new field of work and the calm and reminiscent mood with which he returns to private life. The principal difference which I find now is that while I was in receipt on the average of one hundred and fifty letters a day, one hundred of them wanting things, most of which it was impossible for me to procure, and the other fifty abusing me because I failed to land the writer in a diplomatic or a consular position, in a high place in the departments, or upon the permanent pension roll either as a beginner or with an increase. As an out, my mail dwindles to twenty letters a day, most of them giving advice. Some say, "You are seventy-seven years of age, remarkably well preserved, and yet you cannot hope to reach one hundred unless you quit dining and eating." Others say, "Chew until the last morsel has disappeared before you swallow." Others say, "You must stop drinking." Others prescribe the limits of exercise and the kinds of health foods. Others tell me that the judgment of a man past seventy is never good as to investments, that radical legislation is to impair the income of railway securities, and, bad management, of industries, but that he has a mine to develop or a fertilizer to put upon the market and with a little money the returns will mean luxury for life.

I was elected a Member of the Legislature in 1861. 1911 rounds out fifty years in intimate contact with public life or in the public service. The thought which most impresses itself upon me is that the functions of government, the rights of the citizen, the influence of laws upon the people have entirely changed during that period; I think, emphatically for the better. The iconoclast has been abroad and shattered the

most cherished images of the Fathers. If one of the framers of the Constitution could be reincarnated and visit us today, he would find the same great instrument almost unchanged, still the fundamental law of the land, but he would discover that legislation forced by the growth of the country, the rapid development of its resources, the influences of steam and electricity, had compelled the enactment of restrictive laws which he would regard as tyrannical restrictions upon individual liberty, and that those laws had been sustained as Constitutional by the interpretations of the Supreme Court. He would discover that these interpretations had so treated the general principles of his Constitution as to make them applicable and serviceable for a progress so radical as to seem to him revolutionary. Jefferson pinned his faith on the individual. He emphatically declared, "That government is best which governs least." His idea was to give the freest reign to individual initiative, effort and achievement. It was this which made him opposed to slavery and anxious for its abolition. The ideas of Jefferson controlled the legislation of the Republic down to the Civil War. The first break in the traditional sentiments and principles which had so long governed us was when the Supreme Court found warrant in the Constitution to raise armies to coerce sovereign States and compel them to remain within the Union; not only to raise armies, but to incur gigantic debts and expand the revenue in every possible direction to establish the fact that the Union of the States is indestructible and eternal.

After the Civil War and the elimination of slave labor, the United States entered upon a new industrial era. Railroads spanned the continent, and in doing so created farms, villages, cities and new States. There were in 1861 about thirty-five thousand miles of railway in the United States, and in 1911 the mileage has increased to two hundred and thirty-six thousand, which is one-half the railway mileage of the world. The necessity of great aggregations of capital to construct these iron highways, to promote manufactures, to develop the resources of the country and its mines, its forests and its fields, rapidly created corporations. The old Jefferson ideas gave to capital, whether possessed by

an individual or a partnership or a corporation, the freest rein. The people were eager for the development of the national wealth. Their imaginations were fired with the opportunities it gave to their children for success beyond the dreams of the present generation and for the permanent and healthful employment of everybody. After a while it was found that if the corporation was not regulated by law, and did not have upon it the restraining power of the government, and was not compelled to have its operations exposed to the light of publicity, that the public, the corporations and their investors were subject to great evils and perils. Then began legislation upon the collective instead of the individual principle. The railroads, with the absolute freedom which was thought necessary for their primitive expansion, engaged in ruinous competition with each other which impaired the efficiency of the service and the strength of the companies. Discriminations by rebates and other devices for favored cities, towns or individuals became common. Business dried up along the weaker lines under the original false idea that the proper way to secure justice from the railroad was to promote competition by law. Then rapidly came State and National commissions. Then came prohibitions against rebates, discriminations and favoritism, and then was developed what is nearly completed—that ideal of corporate management, the controlling power of the government to prevent abuses and also to protect the corporations in their rights, the expansion, extension, improvement and increasing efficiency of private ownership as against the waste and profligacy of ownership by the government. Now, here we have what might be called collective action reversing our time-honored rules and principles and yet working beneficially for protecting without restricting enterprise and progress. To accomplish these results larger powers have been given to the Interstate Commerce Commission and a Court of Commerce created with adequate jurisdiction. Soon it was found necessary that the old idea which had governed us for eighty years should be reversed as to all corporations. The legislation along this line reached so many in every settlement of the country that it raised a wild cry of alarm. It was shouted that private business was to be

destroyed and fatal restrictions placed upon national development. The selfishness which to save expense made factories unsanitary and unsafe was practised as much by individuals as by corporations. The employment of children and the destruction of child life in order to make more money was found to be as much the vice of individuals as of corporations. So the law stepped in and swept away the whole theory of individualism and proceeded drastically to protect by law, by inspection and by government supervision the lives and the health of the people in the factories and to protect the children. We have not gone quite far enough. That frightful holocaust of the factory fire in New York a few days since shows that these laws must be more drastic, supervision more perfect and punishment more severe.

These instances which I have cited, and they could be continued almost indefinitely, demonstrate the complete change in our government in these fifty years of my public life, but no sane men will question that the change has been most beneficial and absolutely necessary. We as a people go to extremes. Having advanced thus far, our danger is that the unthinking may go on from protection to restrictions so severe as to endanger progress and enterprise. Corporate development during this period is not confined to the United States, but has been equally rapid in all countries. With the cable and cheap and rapid transportation over the seas the surplus savings of each country are at the service of all nations. The fluidity of capital makes Kings and Parliaments and Presidents and Congresses boards of directors of those huge competitive business organizations their several nations, upon whose success depends the living of their peoples and the extent to which prosperous conditions may ward off penury and starvation and promote prosperity. The great industrial nations, like Great Britain and Germany, encourage great combinations. They do it to increase the efficiency and cheapness of their productions, because their increasing populations and surplus threaten dangerous congestion and are a menace to the stability of their institutions and the peace and order of their communities. Their object is to capture for the sale of their surplus the markets of the world. They further help their own

industries by encouraging and creating a mercantile marine which will sail upon every sea and reach every port by subsidies sufficiently large and liberal to accomplish this result. The United States has taken an opposite course. We have persistently refused encouragement to the upbuilding of a mercantile marine. When Secretary of State Root made his famous visit to the South American Republics, he found in the crowded shipping of their ports but one vessel flying the American flag and our battleship fleet in its cruise around the world saw the ensign of their country only on their own masts. The thousands of steamers in the ports of these countries were English, German, French, Belgian, Italian, Austrian, Swedish and Norwegian, some carrying American products, but all agents for the manufacturers and business men of their own countries. The country became so alarmed at the rapidity with which industrial combinations were formed that the Sherman Anti-Trust Act was passed twenty years ago. It fairly expressed the idea of that period which was that the common law which had proved ample for the restraint of bad combinations for three hundred years was not sufficient to meet these new conditions, but that all industrial combinations, good or bad, should be prohibited and as far as possible we should become as a people retailers rather than wholesalers in the exploitation, perfecting and marketing of our products. Capital seeking opportunities for investment, labor with unions strong enough to protect itself demanding opportunities for employment and increasing wages, and communities striving against each other for immigration and the rapid development of their local resources, were all carried along by the resistless power of the tendency of the times to get around or to overcome the effects of this law. Several States which have quickly grasped both the opportunity and the necessity have endeavored to overcome the restrictive and repressive influence of the law by the exercise of their sovereign power, while others have supplemented by more drastic acts the Sherman Law. The States which have taken the independent course have attracted immigration and capital and increased their population in the last decade as well as expanded their industries, while the commonwealths which have pursued the other course have

decreased in population because their young men could find no employment, and, therefore, were compelled to migrate either to Canada for cheap farms or to the industrial States for their opportunities. But these progressive commonwealths are finding their legislation up against the power of the government when their products go beyond their borders in interstate commerce. A large measure of the unrest, the lack of employment, the halting of business, and the depreciation of securities, are due to the uncertainties of this situation. The need of the hour is constructive statesmanship which will provide by national incorporations opportunity for the free play of capital, the largest possible employment of labor and the protection of the public under a supervision by a bureau of the general government, which, while preventing abuses, will permit progress. President Roosevelt made an admirable move in this direction by his congress of Governors, the idea being that through them there might be uniform laws throughout the country. It is an almost insuperable barrier to our proper and wise development as a nation that what is lawful and encouraged in one commonwealth should be penalized in another, that the family, that sacred relation upon which everything else rests, should under diverse divorce laws be in danger of disruption and destruction because a couple may be husband and wife in one jurisdiction but the wife a mistress and the children illegitimate in another.

One of the causes of unrest which is so universal is the high cost of living. Due in a measure to this is the initiative, the referendum and the recall, and many other devices to destroy representative government. I met in my experience a concrete illustration which seemed to prove that the main trouble is not so much the high cost of living as the cost of high living. When I was a boy, sixty odd years ago, I knew a successful village storekeeper who opened the store himself at seven o'clock in the morning and closed it at night. He had one assistant of all work, and he helped in building the fire, for there were no furnaces in those days, in filling and trimming the lamps, for there was no electric light or gas, and a single horse, which he groomed himself, hauled the delivery wagon and took his family out in the rockaway for a ride

on Sunday afternoons. He was contented, happy and prosperous. I stopped in to see his son not long ago. He had furnace heat, electric lights, clerks who relieved him of much of the work of his father, an automobile at the door, a telephone on his desk and a typewriter on his lap, and complained of the high cost of living.

One of the most extraordinary of the changes in the period we are discussing is our attitude toward the negro. I speak of this because of close contact with the question during discussions in the Senate on the amendment to the Constitution to change the method of electing United States Senators from the Legislature to the people. I there found that the sentiment which so overwhelmingly placed in the Constitution the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments for the protection of the negro had decreased to an almost utter indifference to his civil and political rights. The theory under which we permit immigrants of every grade of intelligence to become citizens after a certain probation is that under our common school system, our free education and the influence of our institutions they will be worthy of that high privilege. The results have justified the theory. We do this also in the belief that it is dangerous to have in our midst a large and increasing body of aliens who neither enjoy nor can be permitted to enjoy the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship. Many States in which there is a large negro population have by various devices deprived them of the suffrage. Of course this is in violation of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution. These States greatly fear that some time the question may reach the Supreme Court of the United States in such a way that the court may decide against this legislation. So when the resolution was offered during the last Congress to change the Constitution by simply saying that hereafter United States Senators should be elected by the people instead of by the Legislatures, these States which deny the negroes the right to vote made the demand that they would not support the proposition unless the provision of the Constitution which has been there for one hundred and twenty-five years giving the United States supervisory power over the elections should be repealed. A few days ago this

question came up in the House of Representatives. The resolution amending the Constitution was reported from the committee with this repeal of governmental supervision, and in that form it passed the House by the affirmative vote of three-fourths of its members. The resolution as it passed the House not only changes the method of electing United States Senators, but leaves the qualifications of the electors who shall vote for them entirely in the discretion of the State Legislatures, which means that no negro will ever be permitted to vote in a great many States for a United States Senator, and means that the restrictive laws have this buttress for their perpetuity if the question comes before the Supreme Court. Suppose this action had been taken, I will not say immediately after the Civil War, with its heat and passion, but thirty years ago. There would have come through Henry Ward Beecher from Plymouth pulpit, Dr. Storrs from the Puritan Church, and Theodore Parker from the Temple in Boston, an appeal which would have aroused the whole country. Every pulpit in the Northern States would have rung with denunciations of this bargain and surrender. All the great newspapers would have joined and mass meetings everywhere would have voiced the public indignation, but with the exception of a criticism from a few newspapers there is apparently no feeling left on the subject in the country.

Encouraged by this vote, the day after the repeal of this century and a quarter old protection for the Government and Congress was so overwhelmingly passed as a triumphant rider on the proposition for the election of Senators by the people, a resolution was offered in the House of Representatives to repeal the 14th Amendment of the Constitution.

This half century is a wonderful inspiration for optimism. Let the American boys and girls who have become familiar with the rise and fall of empires, and with the startling revolutions in Europe during those fifty years, study the story of their own country from 1861 to 1911. It has no equal in all that tends to liberty, progress, intelligence and the influences which make life worth the living. There are some discoveries which are disquieting, but at the same time they have their compensations in health and

the prolongation of life. Fifty years ago we had not discovered microbes or bacteria. We were peacefully ignorant of the battles which are constantly raging in our blood between the good and the bad microbes. Myriads of people died with peritonitis, not knowing that to cut out the appendix ended the trouble. Patent medicines, compounded mainly of whiskey, opium or cocaine, were the greatest aids to the doctors and the undertakers. While the Pure Food Law compels the makers of these stuffs to put their formula on the bottle is declared to be an invasion of individual liberty, it has saved millions of lives.

My breakfast for years has been one boiled egg. I found recently when I took it out of the shell that it was as lively as soda water when the bottle is first opened. It had fermented. I felt as did Horace Greeley, who, at a formal dinner, was so absorbed in his talk that, not noting what he was eating, he got a mouthful of the sorbet which was concocted of Jamaica rum. Angry and spluttering, he turned savagely to his hostess and shouted, "Madam, I never drink intoxicating liquors, and you know it, but if I did I don't want my rum frozen." I said to my dealer, "An egg fortifies me for the day, but I don't want soda water eggs, for which I am paying you sixty cents a dozen." "Well," said the eggman, "those are case eggs, but I will send you fresher eggs for seventy cents a dozen." Case eggs were cold storage eggs and the best of that class. Nearly fifty millions of the worst, which had become filthy poisons, were destroyed by the food inspectors this year. Yet the cold storage men say, "This is an interference with individual liberty." But that law should be strengthened. The farmer received for those seventy cent eggs only twenty cents a dozen; fifty cents went to the middlemen. If the farmers would form a co-operative trust they could divide that fifty cents with the consumers, and thus increase their profits and reduce the cost of living.

As industrial occupations have become hazardous we are progressing upon lines of legislation for the mass as against the individual by making the individual responsible for death or for damages incurred in these employments. We have even within the last four years had legislation which makes the

government as an employer responsible in compensatory damages for injuries to its employees. If I may mention myself in a birthday speech, that is one of my legislative monuments. People think right when they are informed. No demagogue long survives when the district school year has been extended from ninety days to nine months in his community. Just now many are rising to notice or distinction by denouncing the "Interests." The "Interests" has become almost as effective a cry for political purposes as was at one time the railroads and at another time corporations. When an analysis is made of what the orator is trying to accomplish in this vague denunciation of the "Interests" it will be found that it is an appeal to that universal unrest, strong in every one of us, against the fellow who is a little better off than ourselves.

A statesman in the Legislature at Albany the other day after the Assembly had cordially received me disturbed the harmony by saying that I did not represent the common people. It was a delightful occasion. This did not occur until after I left, but there is nothing perfect in this world. There is always a flaw in the emerald or a fly in the amber. But yet this statement may mar his own political future by talking about the common people. In our country, where all are equal before the law, where there are no classes, no privileges, where ninety-nine out of every hundred of the heads of our railroads, our banks, our insurance companies, our business enterprises, our statesmen, started as poor boys, there are no common people. Even Lincoln never used that word, and if any man was a tribune of the people he in all our history is their leader. I heard General Spinola tell a story of how he ruined his chances once for the Assembly by saying in a speech in the Sixth Ward that he was glad to get down to that locality. An indignant citizen sprang to his feet and yelled, "Low-calidity is it? We'll show you we are high-calidity," and only the policeman saved him from the mob. Everybody ought to think for himself, but it is not easy to think right. I remember a Senator making a speech upon a question where his State was divided and the canvass for his re-election was on. As he balanced the pros and cons until it became a fair wager how long he would stay on the fence and on which side he would land, a witty colleague

remarked, "That speech reminds me of a farmer who took his clock to the maker and said, 'I wish you would mend this clock. I do not know what is the matter with it, because when it strikes four and the hands point to twelve I know it is half past one.'"

Of the seventy-seven class is Doctor Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard. He celebrated his birthday during this month. I read on Sunday his interview in which he gives with that wonderful precision and lucidity which has always characterized him the rules which make him vigorous at seventy-seven and hopeful for the future. Cheerfulness and temperance run through his inspiring talk. I think I can agree with him when he says, "Go to church. Keep a clean heart and a good conscience. Give your mind exercise as well as your body—really think. Exercise regularly. Eat in moderation. Take a full allowance of sleep. Avoid indulgence in luxury and the habitual use of any drug, not only of alcohol but of tobacco, tea and coffee." If I do not go to church on Sunday, I am uncomfortable the whole week, and always inspired by the services and the sermon. Eating in moderation I have preached at all these dinners, but I never have had time for regular exercises. Sleep is the absolute necessity for health and longevity. It was said of Napoleon that he required only four hours, but one of the innumerable biographies from those who were on his staff says that he often slept in his saddle. A man at seventy-seven should not attempt things which would be easy at forty no matter how vigorous he may feel. Matthew Arnold died because at sixty-five he took a flying leap over a high fence to shame the boys.

The most difficult advice to follow given by Doctor Eliot is to really think. Most people exercise their minds along the lines of their business or profession, but on general subjects let the newspapers do the thinking for them. This become a habit from which it is almost impossible to break away and real thinking becomes too hard a task. A farmer on the western reserve of Ohio, sitting with a troubled look on his face, was asked by a traveler what was the matter. He said, "My Democratic neighbor got the better of me in an argument last

night, but wait until the weekly Tribune comes with old Greeley's editorial and then I will smash him to bits."

Passing through Albany at one time I learned that the Governor of our State, a very successful man, and whom I highly valued as a friend, was ill. I stopped over a train and went up to see him. I found him in dressing-gown and slippers, surrounded by the hundreds of bills which had been left on his hands by the Legislature and which were to be signed or sent unsigned to the Secretary of State's office before the constitutional limit of days allowed him had expired. He said, "Chauncey, here are questions of sociology, of municipal government, of the regulation of charities, of reformatories, of conservation and a hundred other things, to which I have never given attention. You make so many speeches on so many questions that you must do a great deal of thinking. I wonder if it affects you as it does me?" "Well," I said, "Governor, how does it affect you?" He said, "The same as a rough sea, and I am a mighty poor sailor."

I was talking the other day with a farmer, an old friend, and he revealed to me a brand new way of getting around these most necessary laws against watering milk, short measure in the basket and the barrel and short weight on the scales, legislation against which is all of this period that I have been discussing. He said, "I let my cows in warm weather stand during the middle of the day in water. I find that by the processes of absorption they give twenty per cent more milk." Of course this method of watering milk is beyond the reach of the law or the inspector.

My friend Choate has said in one of his happy speeches that from seventy to eighty are the best days in a long life. Having already passed the majority of these years, I am in full accord with my friend. Gladstone said that the best and happiest period of his life was after sixty, but he was in the eighties when he swept the country by a marvelous personal canvass and carried his Irish Home Rule Bill, and at eighty-five he wrote to that most delightful of English social leaders, Lady Dorothy Nevill, "The year hand of the clock of time has marked eighty-five and has nearly run its course. I have much cause to be thankful, still more to be prospective." It

was my privilege to meet Lady Dorothy very often years ago, and so I read with the greatest interest her reminiscences which have recently been published. In them Lady Dorothy tells this charming story about an aunt who, she says, was the homeliest woman in Great Britain, so homely that she passed forty without ever receiving an offer. Wolfe, the explorer, was the lion of the London season and sat beside her at dinner. She became so excited with his adventures among the lions and elephants that she dropped her fork. The explorer unhesitatingly plunged under the table to find it in a more adventurous journey than he had ever had in Central Africa. When he discovered it he pinched her foot. It was the only attention she had ever received and she fell madly in love with him. Soon after they were married. This reminds me that in reading the life of Samuel Rogers, the poet banker, his biography says that while his faculties were not impaired otherwise his memory was completely gone after ninety. An effort which was made by a scientist to rouse that faculty when Rogers was ninety-two resulted only in his recalling the name of the girl who had rejected his offer of marriage when he was a young man. The story of the pinch of the foot and its result and of this only recollection of the nonagenarian poet indicates what lives when everything else has died.

I frequently meet with men past sixty who complain that their friends and companions are dead and they are unable to find new ones to take their places. So they say life is very dull and uninteresting. These unfortunate people have not found the true secret of happiness at any age. It is to be part of each generation, to be a participant in its work and in its play, to appreciate its fun and not laugh at its follies, to be an elder brother in your church associations, in your political organizations, in your club life, in your fraternity, so alert and valuable in your activities that you are welcomed by the youngest and the experience of venerable years gives a value to your advice which commands the attention of all. This appreciation and applause is the most healthful of tonics and one of the best aids to vigorous longevity.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Annual Dinner of the University Club,
Washington, Monday, February 27, 1911.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: As a university man, to-night seems to me something like the gala day in the Coliseum at Rome. If you can imagine this room to be the Coliseum, and the President of the United States as the Emperor in his box, then Carter and I, and other Senators and Members of Congress, who are in the same situation, pass before him like the gladiators of old saluting with the cry, "Nos morituri te salutamus"—"We who are about to die salute you." I only turn the Latin into English because most of you have been out of college more than ten years.

Senator Carter and I are among the number of the elect and the saints for whom this is the last week on the political planet. On Saturday we expire. The catastrophe suggests both sorrow and hilarity—sorrow for what we lose and hilarity for what we escape. The angel of political death appears in the Senate in these days in sundry disguises. At one time he takes the form of the amendment to the Constitution for the direct election of Senators; at another the resolution relating to the seat of Mr. Lorimer; at another the Canadian reciprocity. He remarks on each of these propositions to those who are still in the ring, "Whichever way you vote you are mine." A committee of farmers representing the granges and agricultural societies of the State of New York called upon me and said, "If you vote for this Canadian treaty you need never expect any political favor which the united farmers of the State of New York can prevent your receiving, but if you vote against it you have our united support for the rest of your life." Then a representative of the newspaper publishers came in. He said, "If you don't vote for this treaty, by editorial denunciation, paragraphical sniping and repertorial misrepresentation, we will make your life a burden and retire you to permanent oblivion." "Well," I said, "suppose I do vote for it. What will you do then?" The representative said, "Then we will never mention you."

The Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Representatives has a collection of poetry for the use of Members delivering memorial addresses on deceased Members. One used the other day, I fear, might represent the tears over retiring statesmen: "Here lies the body of my dear wife. My scalding tears cannot bring her to life. Therefore, I weep."

How happy was the condition of the representative of the people in the good old days. On the questions prevailing in that period there were no divisions within the party, no questions upon which the Senator or the Member could not follow the leader with safety and devotion, while in these days party lines are becoming so indistinct that the electorate which gives rousing majorities one year for one side gives equally rousing majorities the next year for the other side. But the university man has a satisfaction which cannot be enjoyed by any outside the order. Parties may come and parties may go; the political question of to-day may seem vital for the republic, and be forgotten to-morrow; but as time goes on and age mellows, aspiration and enthusiasm for other things fade and become nebulous, but the old campus, the old buildings, the old fence, the old professors, the old associations grow fresher, more beautiful, more satisfactory with the years.

We are happy in having with us here to-night one of the men who constitute that enormous aggregation of men called "New Yorkers." They come from every state in the Union to our city to take their chances where failure is hopeless but rewards are great. The one who succeeds in his profession, his business, his calling of any kind, in this great town, is pre-eminently the survival of the fittest and equivalent to a New Yorker by birth. So this young Texan, Martin Littleton, coming unknown and unheralded to the metropolis, speedily won a rare position in the forefront of a crowded profession, and then, turning to politics, reversed the time-honored majority in the district in which resides ex-President Roosevelt. And yet, before he has taken his seat in the Lower House, he confidently announces his candidacy for the Senate. We are students of the classics and we love those acts of heroism of the ancient times which have been the inspiration of all the ages. The three hundred at Thermopylæ, Curatius jumping into the pit to save his country, Horatius holding the bridge,

are familiar examples. So, when the Democratic Party, torn asunder by faction and threatened with annihilation by internal strife, seemed on the eve of destruction, Friend Littleton heroically and unselfishly sent word to the leaders in the Legislature at Albany, "I will make the sacrifice. Take me for Senator." Certainly I should feel highly honored to have my brilliant young friend as my successor.

An incident, both picturesque and interesting, which took place a few days ago in this Senatorial contest at Albany happily and favorably illustrates the honor of men in public life. Muckraking magazines, yellow journals and Chautauqua lecturers have been for years preaching to the people that the public life of the United States is the most decadent that exists anywhere in the world. They have succeeded in producing a widespread distrust of the representatives of the people, both in State Legislatures and in Congress. It is a distrust so deep-seated that I doubt if it is ever removed. Everyone who knows anything about progress in legislation knows the enormous improvement which has taken place both in the personnel of representatives and in the work which they have performed since the Civil War. The lobby which used to fill the halls of Congress has now practically disappeared. In the New York Legislature the Democrats have a large majority on joint ballot. They are responsible for the order of business. They placed upon the record a rule that no pairs should be recognized unless they were recorded with the clerk. It so happened that a week ago when the roll was called in the joint Assembly for the election of United States Senator it was discovered that there were so many Democratic absentees that the Republicans had a clean majority. The majority leader claimed that the absentees were paired individually and without his knowledge and asked that those pairs be recognized. He was informed that under his own rule, which had been adopted, those pairs were illegal. He admitted that they were illegal, but begged the minority to recognize the pairs, which were made individually without notice and in violation of the rule, as a gentleman's agreement. Here is an interesting question of ethics. If a legislator makes a private agreement to violate a standing rule of the legislative body to which he belongs and for which he voted, is that violation an agreement

of a gentleman? Though the minority had it absolutely in their power to elect a Senator and might have demanded that the game should be played according to the rules, they decided that, notwithstanding rules and orders, the gentleman's agreement should be recognized. I do not believe that business men, having the legal right, would have yielded under such conditions. I know that no lawyer responsible for the interests of his clients would have permitted his opponent to gain such an advantage. And I state this only to show that in public life and among public men there is the very highest and most sensitive honor. As I have been the candidate of the minority and receiving their united votes since the balloting began, I would have been the recipient of this remarkable happening, but I rejoice exceedingly that my friends did not take the advantage which was legally in their power. The people had elected a Legislature which was Democratic by a large majority, and they had the right to expect a Democratic Senator.

Washington has changed marvelously since I first came here twelve years ago. It is filling up with the palaces of the men who have made fortunes all over the world in ventures of vast magnitude. These palaces are going up in all the great cities of the country. Nine-tenths of their owners boast that they are self-made men and sneer at the products of the colleges and universities. In an active life of fifty-five years with opportunities to meet more people than almost any man alive, and know something of their careers, I have come to the conclusion that it is only the few who are exceptionally gifted who can excel those who have had the benefits of a liberal education. No one except those who have been privileged to enjoy them can appreciate the infinite pleasures there are in the advantages which the old institutions give. I remember one wonderful man whose learning was limited to the three R's, but who had a world-wide reputation for success, who would have given a large part of his vast fortune if he could have enjoyed a college training. But I knew another, and I can see his shiny, bald head now, who was always speaking contemptuously of the men of the schools. One day he said to an eminent professor of physiology, "What has all your education done for you, sir? See where I am and what I have, and I am a self-made man." "Well," said the professor,

"while you were making yourself why didn't you put some hair on your head?" I remember another who angered a famous painter with the same remark, and received this retort, "I wish you would let me paint on the top of your head the picture of a rabbit." "Why a rabbit," said the astonished millionaire. "Because," said the artist "somebody might mistake it for a hare."

Every American boy starts with a quick mind. Afterward it is a matter of development. I heard this story the last time I was in New Haven. When the British Ambassador was delivering his very able addresses to the university he had a discussion on the street one day with President Hadley as to the brightness of the street boy in London and America. President Hadley said, "Let's test it with this newsie." The President said, "Boy, can you tell us what time it is by your nose?" to which the boy answered, "My nose isn't running this morning."

Nothing impresses me more than the evolution of American democracy. We started with very little power in the executive and all power in Congress, when all the rest of the world were under autocratic governments of the kings, and we were afraid of the king. In the development of a century and a quarter all the rest of the world, especially England and France, have come to the absolute supremacy of the legislative branch and the retirement of the executive, while we have evolved the other way. So, at that early period our English and Scotch ancestors believed in three and four hour sermons in the pulpit and whole-night speeches in Parliament. Now, in the condensation on the other side the leading authorities of the Church of England propose to condense the Ten Commandments. They take the longest one which states what you shall not covet, and, eliminating everything else, leave only "Thou shalt not covet." If this rule could be applied to the United States Senate its business would be finished and its sessions ended in three months. As it is now, we have statesmen whose great ambition is to have their posterity point to the Congressional Record and say, "My father filled more pages of that wonderful publication than any man of his time." It would be an enormous benefit to many a man and a tremendous relief to the world if such a one was only gifted

with the feminine instinct of propriety, an instinct which never fails, which is always correct, though in the matter of personal adornment very expensive. In the recent excavations which have been made on the site of ancient Babylon they have come across, in the library of Nebuchadnezzar, where the books were stenciled on clay and baked, the Babylonian story of the Garden of Eden. And this publication proves, that when man and woman first appeared upon earth, she had this instinct of propriety for herself as well as for him. This story says that after the accident of the apple, when Eve retired and wove a dress for him and herself of the leaves in the Garden, that Adam put his around his neck and she exclaimed, "Great Heaven, Adam, that is not the place to wear it!"

It has been my privilege to serve under Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft. McKinley had spent twenty years in Congress and he looked to the Senators and Members exclusively for guidance, advice and help. Roosevelt had a genius for gauging the popular current beyond any of our public men. He had invisible wires which reached every part of the country and every department of industry, and through them he gathered, long in advance, the trend of public opinion, and then, with fife and drum, and cymbal and horn, became its leader and carried its purposes into effect. In these troublous times there is fluidity of parties, and more than ever before in the history of the country great corporations and great aggregations of wealth on the one side and agitation and unrest on the other, are creating most critical and dangerous situations. It is a period that calls for patience, for high courage, for judicial fairness and for those rare and indefinable qualities which command the confidence of the people. Nowhere in such a crisis could the combination of culture and experience be found equal to the task except in the product of our American universities. Happily for the country and happily for the people, one of the finest fruits of liberal culture, one of the best results of the college, a man who has carried the spirit of Alma Mater into every function of life and every office that he has held, is our President, William H. Taft,

WELCOMED HOME BY REPUBLICAN CLUB

Speech at the Dinner given to Senator Depew by
the Republican Club of the City of New York,
April 7, 1911.

MY FRIENDS: When a man enters upon a great office he has doubts; when he retires he still has doubts; but if his neighbors, among whom he has lived and who have known him always, gather to greet, to welcome, to honor and to congratulate, all doubts are removed. Any one properly constituted regards the consummation of a successful life to be happiness. Happiness is not an accident nor purely a question of temperament and environment, nor can it be secured by cultivation. It is a gift, both from within and without; from without, in unselfish friendship; from within, in appreciation and gratitude.

There is a vast difference between going out with your party or being beaten within your party. For a Republican to be stepped on by the elephant is death, but to be kicked by the Democratic donkey means only a period in the hospital.

The saying that "a prophet is not without honor save in his own country" may have been true in earlier days, but is not applicable to our times.

Under our system of government, which, unlike the English, confines a representative to his home district or state, no one can secure and hold public office unless he is held in honor in his own country. If strong at home, if holding continuously the respect and confidence of his fellow citizens, storms of detraction, or hatred, or enmity from other states, are powerless to disturb him.

I have just closed twelve years in the United States Senate, very eventful ones in legislation and very happy ones to me. When Tennyson sang "Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay" he did not possess American experience. In the fifty years since 1861 we have passed through a crisis involving the existence of the country or its whole future every decade. The civil war for the preservation of the Union,

reconstruction for the permanent peace and perpetuity of the Union, the defeat of fiat money, the resumption of specie payments, the silver craze, the establishment of the gold standard and the experiment with colonial government were all crises full of peril, full of history and of grave consequences to the republic. I have experienced all there was to feel by an active participation in each of those troublous periods.

It has been to me one supreme lesson in the absolute indestructibility of our institutions and liberties. Every citizen passes through a period of seeing in the immediate future the destruction of his country. But while believing this prophecy, if you have seen several times the period set for the cataclysm pass by and nothing happen, predictions of evil cease to disturb your peace of mind. I have a letter of my great-grandfather's, written during Jefferson's administration. He was a judge and a Federalist. This letter to his son-in-law, a distinguished lawyer of the same faith, says: "With Jefferson as President, an infidel in religion and a French revolutionist in politics, I see, perhaps not in my time, but in yours, the end of religion and liberty in these United States." Several generations have come and gone since the old gentleman left to his children this grewsome legacy. Each generation has found the country enjoying larger liberties, greater power and prosperity and opportunities for all undreamed of by their predecessors.

There will be crises in the future, occurring probably every decade, perils from the clashing of labor and capital, perils from the growth of socialistic sentiment, perils of the dangers to all property in the effort to control great corporations and wealth without checking progress and employment, perils from the mob spirit and perils from autocracy.

England, handicapped, as we protectionists think, by free trade, is trying to keep as much as possible of her former position as the workshop of the world by encouraging industrial combinations. This is done to reduce the cost of production. The German states, as in the famous potash case, are themselves interested in various industries. They form close syndicates with their competitors in the same line of business to maintain prices at home and utilize their government-owned railroads and subsidized mercantile marine to so lower charges

for transportation as to command foreign markets. Our legislation forbids all combinations, the good as well as the bad, and our task, as we extend our commerce, is to adjust our conditions for competition with other nations.

We as yet have not fully grasped our position as a world power and the duties it imposes, nor have we arrived at a settled policy which is demanded by foreign governments under the responsibilities assumed in maintaining the Monroe doctrine. Judging the future by the past, the pendulum will probably swing our way until the common sense of the people checks its dangerous progress, and then politicians, with ears to the ground catching the changing sentiment, will eagerly lead in the opposite direction. So, if we who are here to-night are permitted to visit these scenes a hundred years from now, we will find conditions bettered, opportunities larger and greater marvels brought about by inventions, and the game of politics played possibly with the same cards and with similar results to those which have characterized our period. Between political crises and political stagnation, it is better for the public good that the storm should rage and some temporary damage be done, for a wreck here and there upon the shore is nothing to the life-giving gale which lashes the ocean into fury and sends the beneficent rainclouds over the earth and clarifies sea and air of impurities.

In rendering an account of stewardship a catalogue would be wearisome, but I rejoice in many things in which I was permitted to participate, and for which I had opportunity to render such assistance as was in my power. The carrying into effect of the gold standard and the establishment upon a firm basis of national and individual credit was one of the achievements of my period.

Before the conservation of natural resources had become a question of any importance, as chairman of the committee having charge of such matters in my earlier years, I became convinced of the necessity of turning the Appalachian range into a national forest. The eight states through which the range runs could do nothing individually. The cutting off of the trees led to the washing away of the undergrowth and humus which held the rainfall and distributed it beneficially through the valleys. The floods which followed the loss of the

forests destroyed annually twenty million acres of fertile land. The tragedy of the destruction of twenty million acres a year, with all their possibilities for settlement and happy homesteads, was beyond language to describe. I prepared a bill and passed it through the Senate. It took ten years of continuous effort to get it through the House of Representatives, but in this last session, including also the White Mountains, it became a law. The inclusion of the White Mountains was due to the efforts of Senator Brandegee of Connecticut.

Reform by legislation is always slow and tedious and requires continuous and persistent effort to succeed. The government had never yielded to a law which would make it liable to those engaged in its service in dangerous employments for similar compensation for death and injury to those which were universal in industrial pursuits. For years that bill had appeared and annually been buried. President Roosevelt and Secretary of War Taft placed it in my hands, and in the last hours of the closing session of the Sixty-first Congress I succeeded in passing it and sending it to the President. I am prouder of that than of many measures of country-wide interest in whose perfection I participated.

The Senate is a comparatively small body with a membership which runs for six years, and with re-election for another six. Associations and intimacies permit a member to secure for his state things of importance which a young member can never gain. I was assigned immediately upon entering to the great committee on commerce. This committee passes upon all measures relating to the rivers and harbors of the country and the improvements of the waterways. I became deeply impressed with the scheme which that eminent senator, Senator Frye, had prepared for Ambrose channel. I joined with Senator Frye to make this project a success. None of us dreamed at that time that mercantile marine engineering would produce leviathans of 50,000 tons, and yet with a foresight which was more of hope than of intelligence, we carried to perfection a channel into the docks of the port of New York of sufficient width and depth to accommodate and secure for our harbor those marvelous carriers of the sea.

The barge canal comes to the Hudson River twelve miles above the improvement which permits the floating of its larger

craft. Last year near the close of the session the engineers and a citizens' committee came to me with the statement that unless the government at an expense of between six and seven millions of dollars improved that twelve miles the barge canal was a failure—it ended nowhere.

Senators are clamoring for appropriations for every river and creek in the country. When most of the states are jealous of New York, to secure an appropriation of this kind in the last stages of a session or at any other stage is purely a matter of personal relations with senators. I pleaded for, and secured, the preliminary appropriation from my associates, more than upon its merits, on the statement that it was absolutely essential for my re-election. There again comes in the personal equation, for as a rule brother senators will do much to retain among them one of their number.

In the same way, when every city, village and hamlet in the country was howling for public buildings and lifting the dome of the capitol with the cry that New York had been petted and fed at their expense, I secured the two uptown postoffices which are to cost between three and four millions each.

And in the same way and for the same reasons and by the same pleas, though the secretary of the navy might cry economy and financiers protest, I secured for the Brooklyn navy-yard one of the new, mighty dreadnoughts, giving employment in that yard to over 4,000 men, supporting 4,000 families for the next two years. And of the \$24,000,000 which have been appropriated for the harbors and lake coasts of our state during my term, I venture to say that much of it has come because of my continuance on the committee through which those appropriations must pass.

During my twelve years we have nearly settled the railway question and taken it out of politics by the Roosevelt railway rate bill, the Elkins anti-rebate bill, and the Taft railroad bill of the last session. I believe that when the results of this legislation are worked out from their present crudities, and there always will be crudities in the beginning of new administrations, that there will come greater benefits to the public and more security to railway investors and efficiency of railway management.

Notwithstanding the opposition of our savings banks, which I thought unwise, I did my best for the postal savings banks law, believing it to be best for the country and that it would keep here the \$100,000,000 a year now sent abroad by our foreign population because they do not trust our banks.

I have always supported the merchant marine subsidy, and regret that it did not become a law and that our people are now giving \$200,000,000 a year for freight to foreign shipping, and that American ships are not the carriers of American trade all over the world. American ships with American officers would be active agents for the extension of our markets while foreigners are necessarily hostile. We are the second naval power, and yet the other great naval powers look upon us as of little account because in time of war we have no mercantile marine for auxiliary cruisers, or colliers for our fighting machines and they cannot stay two weeks away from shore.

Owing to abundant experience from annual visits abroad for many years, I became convinced that there is a necessity for housing our diplomats, as other nations do, in the capitals of other countries. I early commenced advocating this, and regard it as a happy result for the dignity and prestige of the United States that a beginning was made in this Congress by an appropriation for this purpose.

As chairman of the committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, there came to me most interesting experiences in the efforts to solve the serious problem presented by governing the Philippine islands, Hawaii and Porto Rico. Many minds have been at work and many men continually laboring to solve these problems. It is a source of congratulation that peace and prosperity in the Philippine islands and in Hawaii and in Porto Rico are demonstrations of the wisdom which has created out of no experience of our own a beneficent colonial policy for our dependencies.

It is a tribute to the seat which I have occupied for the last twelve years that the Democratic party, with 32 majority in the legislature, was unable by its utmost efforts, though working day and night for 74 days, to fill it until the Republican minority gave them help. A seat in the United States Senate is worthy of any man's ambition.

"Why the Senate?" asked a French critic of Thomas Jefferson at the time of the French revolution.

"Because," said the great statesman and author of the Declaration of Independence, "it is like the saucer to the tea cup; when the tea is too hot to drink with safety, it can be cooled off in the saucer."

The Senate has been called the Millionaires' Club, and yet with its ninety-two members a majority have not a competence outside of their salary, and not over 10 per cent have reached the millionaire mark. Seven senators died recently. One started as a poor boy, and in developing the mineral resources of his own state became a millionaire, but the joint assets of the other six did not amount to \$200,000, and three left practically nothing. This is a fair average of the financial condition of the Senate.

There are several kinds of senators. The most valuable are those who seldom appear in the "Record," but work night and day in the committee rooms and on the floor in the perfection of good measures and in defeating bad ones, and those who "Think that day lost whose low descending sun views from thy hand no noble action done," the noble action being some more or less interesting remarks in the next morning's "Congressional Record."

There has been much criticism both at home and abroad upon the unlimited debate permitted in the Senate. During the sixty-first Congress, which has just closed, there were 43,921 bills introduced and only 810 became laws. I believe in the Jeffersonian doctrine of the least possible legislation, and I think that is in accord with the best sentiment of the country. Many and many of them died because unlimited debate left no time for consideration.

During my twelve years' experience I know of no measure of importance which has failed because the Senate has no rules to limit debate, no closure, no previous question. If a measure is worthy, means are found before it is lost to bring a minority to consent to its passage. After twelve years of experience and much study and thought, I believe it would be unfortunate to change the custom of the Senate.

There have been several filibusters in the Senate in my time where a small minority endeavored to defeat, by using up the

time between the commencement of debate and final adjournment, already agreed to by both Houses, some measure desired by a large majority. Physical exhaustion counts continually against a filibuster. But more than that, no man has sensations so numb and feelings so dead and sensibilities so far lost as to withstand for any lengthened period the ill-concealed anger and contempt, and ultimately disgust, of his associates.

A senator engaged in a filibuster is an interesting mental and psychological study. I have rarely heard one who could go along for more than two hours without returning to the beginning and traversing the same ground, and after doing this several times he goes back and over the ground in practically the same language, like a cat pursuing its own tail. That speech never appears in the "Record" until several weeks afterward, and then is edited to the limit, so the world never gathers its inanities, its banalities and its repetitions.

The Senate stands by its traditions. One hundred years ago every man over sixty took snuff. Because of this custom, snuffboxes were placed on the Democratic and Whig, and then the Democratic and Republican, sides. These snuffboxes are still filled every morning. The snuff has been unused for years, but not long since some quack started the idea, during a recent attack of influenza, that snuff would cure it. If the influenza keeps up, the habit may return and with it the old red bandana to conceal the enormities of the practice.

The most confirmed result in my fifty-four years of public and semi-public life is a belief in party organization. It has its evils, as everything human does, but they can always be cured or they cure themselves. I believe that good legislation and progressive legislation come from there being in the country two great political parties, nearly evenly divided, so evenly that the mistakes of one lead to the triumph of the other. I tried insurgency early in life and got over it immediately. It was when I went off with other Republicans in support of Greeley. So our friends who so blithely claim that insurgency is a brand new invention of their own are practicing something which is very, very old.

An insurgent becomes regular when he and his friends secure a majority. The planet Saturn had eight satellites, and astronomers tell us that the rings of Saturn are kept in place

by the regular and methodical movement of these satellites around the planet in one direction. But every once in a while astronomers for hundreds of years have noticed a disturbance of the rings which they were unable to explain. The enormous telescope provided by Mr. Carnegie has penetrated this mystery. It has found that there is a ninth satellite which moves in and out among the others, but in the opposite direction, always producing a disturbance and threatening a dangerous collision. They cannot find that it contributes anything but trouble to the stability of Saturn's place in the heavenly universe.

The astronomers here named this insurgent in the planetary system Phoebe. We will always have Phobes, contrarily minded, moving in the opposite direction and colliding with the majority, but in the general economy of our political system they sometimes produce a healthy shaking up.

Another fundamental among political principles which experience has confirmed is representative government. There is no doubt that an enthusiastic and able propaganda against representative government by appealing to the sentiment called the people's will has made great progress. There is no doubt that it has discredited state legislatures and Congress. It has led in many states to the initiative, the referendum and the recall. It claims, in its extreme phase, that government can only be popular when the actual meeting of the mob takes the place of the deliberations of the legislative body and decisions of the courts.

The man who acts as his own lawyer loses his property; as his own doctor, loses his life; as his own architect, lives in an unsanitary building; as his own engineer, drives over a bridge which falls into the stream. As life grows more intense in its demands upon people in every department of work, they must concentrate their minds on their industry if they would succeed in their chosen pursuit. The people know that with these conditions, and with the greatest intelligence among the masses, to provide measures of government and principles of justice is absolutely impossible.

They can select men, their neighbors, those who are willing to serve and who are able to do this work for them, and then judge of the capability and the intelligence of their representa-

tives, as they do of the work of their engineer and their lawyer and their doctor, by results. It is to the credit of our institutions that while every other country has changed in its fundamentals, we live after one hundred and twenty-five years under the same constitution, practically unchanged and with a liberty and prosperity and promise for the future which are magnificent testimonies to the wisdom of the fathers.

It was my privilege as secretary of the state of New York at the time to be brought in close relations with President Lincoln and his cabinet and the leading members of Congress, and I have known with more or less intimacy every President and nearly every public man of national reputation since. I became a senator under McKinley and have served under Roosevelt and Taft. McKinley had passed his life in the House of Representatives. He had the profoundest reverence for the legislative branch. He never introduced by message or otherwise any of the great measures of his administration without long and frequent consultation with senators and congressmen. I was consulted in regard to all of them in their preparation and presentation, and afterward in advocating them upon the floor, and this was the experience, I think, of most of his own party and of the opposition. This gave McKinley a hold upon Congress which few, if any, of his predecessors had ever possessed.

I can say that as a senator from his own state I had exceptionally pleasant relations with President Roosevelt.

I believe that one of the most misunderstood of our Presidents is President Taft. His life has been judicial and never one of political strife, and so he looks upon questions as a judge, and not from the viewpoint of a politician as all men brought up in political life must. It never occurs to him what may be the effect of a measure upon his own political fortunes. I believe that as President Taft's measures are better understood, his unselfish patriotism and devotion to the public service better known among the people, that he will grow in popular favor, so that when the national Republican convention meets in 1912 there will be but one name before it, that of William Howard Taft.

I highly appreciate the presence here to-night of that distinguished citizen of our State, the Vice-President of the

United States. After twenty-two years of most useful service in the House of Representatives, his elevation to the second place in our government was a merited promotion. I have studied many presiding officers of the Senate. As that body has few rules and resents any check, the duties of the Chair are difficult and delicate to a degree. But, with his large experience, his intimate knowledge of parliamentary law and Senate precedents, his wonderful tact and uniform good nature, Vice-President James S. Sherman makes one of the best, if not the best, presiding officer the Senate ever had.

And now, my friends, we are all New Yorkers. Next to his country, a man's allegiance and pride should be to his state. My ancestor got his farm from the Indians before Governor Dongan, and those who came after have largely remained by the old fireside. The great men who have adorned our history from the time of Hamilton and Jay are the inspirations of succeeding generations of New York youth. Thurlow Weed, who was for thirty years the dominant political factor in the political life of our state, was my preceptor in practical politics, while William H. Seward, whom I knew intimately and loved ardently, was my teacher in political principles.

Our glorious old commonwealth is foremost of all our sister states in all that constitutes a great empire. I have always felt, both in the Senate and out, that in working for the state, which, with its unequalled harbor, its lake ports, its great canal, its mighty metropolis, which is the financial and commercial center of the United States, I was doing the best service possible for my country.



SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Dinner given to the Ex-Presidents of the
Union League Club of New York on Saturday
Evening, April 8, 1911.

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE UNION LEAGUE CLUB: This meeting which you give with such a large representation of our membership to the ex-Presidents of this organization is one of the most interesting events in the history of any club. The seven Presidents who have filled that high office for thirty-eight years are here not only in life but with vigor. The position of chief executive is inspiring, keeps the arteries from hardening and prolongs life.

Our senior, Mr. Choate, happy in his eightieth year, has talked to us to-night with all that brilliancy, versatility, wit, humor and eloquence which has endeared him for more than half a century to his countrymen. I join with you in congratulating him upon having preserved the poster which announced that the Republicans of the Twentieth Ward of New York City would hold a ratification meeting for the election to the Presidency of Fremont and Dayton in October, 1856, and that the speakers would be Joseph H. Choate, Esquire, and others. He had already reached that distinction so eagerly sought by all young orators of rising from among others to the first place on the program for the night.

But our friend Choate is not the sole survivor of the speakers of the Campaign of 1856, for, in September of that year, I was the only speaker at a Republican ratification at Simpson's Hall, in the Village of Peekskill. What is the Twentieth Ward compared with the Village of Peekskill?

The quotation of Mr. Choate from "Alice in Wonderland" most felicitously indicates the source of the success in life of your ex-Presidents whom you welcome here this evening. The philosophy of that quotation is that victory or longevity is largely a question of skill as a jewsmith. I would like to know where in this country there are any citizens who have got larger dividends out of the exercise of that member

of the human anatomy, the jaw, than these ex-Presidents: Joseph H. Choate, Horace Porter, Elihu Root and myself.

For many years I have been deeply interested in the plan to care for the ex-Presidents of the United States. While there are living seven ex-Presidents of the Union League Club, there never has been more than two of the United States. The cares of that office are a bar to longevity, and the living ex-President speedily expires when a new one appears. We as a people do not like to have our ex-Presidents return and enter upon the ordinary vocations of life. Mr. Cleveland felt that so strongly that he left a large and remunerative practice and lived in the quiet of scholastic Princeton. There was a certain vexation among the people when Grant entered business and when Harrison returned to the practice of law. After much thought I had devised a scheme and contributed much literature to it for pensioning ex-Presidents. The idea had become popular and was generally supported in the press. The thought was that the country should have those experiences which can be secured nowhere except in the Presidency by giving to the ex-President a life seat in either House of Congress with a salary sufficient to maintain the dignity of the position. But the scheme was killed by President Roosevelt. In a notable speech just before he retired from office, he called attention to this effort and said in effect that he desired to inform his countrymen that he did not wish them to make any provision for him by way of pension or otherwise, and then remarked with rare emphasis, "This ex-President can take care of himself." He certainly has demonstrated not only to the United States but to the whole world his vigorous and successful independence.

I do not know that the question of what to do with the ex-Presidents of the Union League Club has ever been agitated, but you have happily solved that problem. Dine them frequently, dine them well and make them glad at the dinner by your enthusiastic and cheering approval of their administrations.

I was for seven years President of this club, three years longer than anyone who ever held the place. It gave me a knowledge of human nature, as exhibited without reserve in

this family relationship, which has been of incalculable value and amusing interest. It is an old saying that eighteen hundred members of a club pay annual dues in order that they may occasionally have a place to dine or to sleep, and one hundred of their number enjoy palatial accommodations and comforts at the lowest possible cost. It is among these perennials that we study human nature—the few who grab all the morning and evening papers so that the occasional dropper-in can find none, the few who take all the seats in the library and all the tables for correspondence and retain possession, the few who regard it as an outrage if new members staying in town over night deprive them for an hour or so of their daily accommodations in the dining-room, which they think belong to them by pre-emption alone. One of the complaints of the House Committee in my time was how six members would combine their order and beat the club by having an order for two secure a course dinner.

But, while this is one of the best social clubs in the world, its distinction is political. It had its origin in 1863 in the darkest hour of the Civil War. It was organized to help the government with both money and men. Its members subscribed for government securities when the credit of the nation was at the lowest ebb, and they recruited regiments at the expense of the club. A notable part of the history of New York in the Civil War is the regiment of colored men raised and equipped by the Union League Club. The prejudice in this city against the negro was as great almost as in South Carolina. It was doubtful if that regiment would be permitted to march down Fifth Avenue and Broadway to the trains and steamers which were to carry it to the front. The whole country doubted whether, with the strong pro-slavery sentiment of that period in this city, this regiment would be permitted to leave without being attacked and possibly dispersed. But the members of this club, who had raised that regiment, many of them well advanced in years and known and honored for a generation in this community, solved the question by marching at the head of the colored regiment as it moved down Broadway. Unarmed, as they were, the moral courage of their act awed the crowd and instead of abuse and assault they were met with cheers.

This incident recalls to my mind at this moment the march of the Seventh Regiment to the front. The government called for the National Guard, and the Seventh Regiment of New York, at that time the best drilled and equipped in the country, immediately responded. Everyone who witnessed their departure have carried through life upon the tablets of memory the most extraordinary picture of the Civil War. When the novelty had worn away and people had become accustomed to the war hundreds of regiments from New England and the rural part of New York marched down Broadway without exciting much interest or attention. But when the Seventh marched the people did not know what war meant. We had had none since the Mexican War of 1848, in which few participated and none remembered. The attack on Sumter had aroused horror and indignation through the North. In New York, with a much smaller population then than now, the Seventh Regiment was peculiarly representative of its business and professional life. The whole country seemed to have come to New York to witness its departure. On every sidewalk and up to the roofs of the stores and houses and banked in the side streets were men and women waiting to give to the boys their greeting and farewell. The regiment never looked so well. Its ranks were full; none had stayed behind. The roars of the people which preceded and followed them came from the full hearts of thousands who felt that they were parting perhaps forever with friends who were risking their lives for their benefit. While there was everything to inspire glory in the wild enthusiasm of these multitudes, there was a background of the tenderest pathos. In carriages and upon temporary platforms, where the cross-streets met the Avenue, stood the mothers, sisters, wives and sweethearts of the soldiers. There was doubt if the regiment would reach Washington without being destroyed and greater doubt if its members would ever return alive. From carriage window or from platform would be the fluttering of the handkerchiefs as the loved one came abreast. There was no sign from the ranks. It was "eyes front" and perfect marching. But as company after company went by, these women who had fluttered these handkerchiefs of farewell dropped in heaps where they stood as if the Angel of Death had

already done his dreadful work. I have seen most of the great processions of the world, those of the pomp and splendor of inauguration of Presidents and coronation of Kings and Queens, those of mourning over mighty dead, those of celebration over historic events and those of commemoration of the victories of war or the triumphs of peace, but never in my life have I witnessed or felt anything so human, so closely in touch with everybody, so pathetic, and yet so inspiring, as the march of the Seventh Regiment down Broadway for the front in 1861.

Well, gentlemen, we are not here for reminiscence alone. The ambition of this club is always to do what it can for the present and provide as far as possible for the future. I regret that in a way its political activities have abated in deference to its social side. There was a long period when the utterances of this club against fiat money, against debasing the currency by free silver, in favor of the gold standard, and for right industrial principles, were potent in the platforms of political conventions, in the speeches of candidates and in the legislation of Congresses and Legislatures. Presidents and Governors and candidates for legislative offices ardently desired the approval of this club. Its power was in the fact that it did not name candidates but it was understood that an unworthy candidate would not receive its support and might receive its condemnation. The presidency of this club placed the recipient upon the high road to political recognition.

Of our Presidents, Choate, as Ambassador to Great Britain, left a memory which will last through generations, both on the diplomatic and social side. Horace Porter was one of the best Ambassadors we have ever had in France. John Jay performed splendid service for his country as its representative at the courts of Berlin and Vienna. Cornelius N. Bliss, while Secretary of the Interior, astonished the land-grabber and the robber of Indian lands and appropriations by treating them as thieves, and carrying into that office the principles of an honorable business life which had made him one of the most distinguished merchants in New York. Elihu Root, as Secretary of War, originated and carried into effect the reforms which have made our Army an efficient machine, and, as Secretary of State, he placed our consular service upon a busi-

ness basis, with merit as the qualification for places, while, in a larger way, by his wonderful visits to the capitals of the South American Republics, he did more for Pan-American peace and the preservation of the Monroe Doctrine than had been accomplished by any statesman in half a century.

Gentlemen, the work of this club will never be finished. New problems are constantly arising almost as important to our future, as a people and a nation, as those of the preservation of the Union. The perpetuity of the Republic is assured, the stability of its currency is established, but, in the future as in the past, beneficent principles can be aided by the intelligence, courage and patriotism of our club.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW **at a Masonic Celebration at the Manhattan** **Opera House, New York, on April 13, 1911.**

BRETHREN: We all have been interested and instructed by the eloquence of Brother Wolfe, of Washington. I think I ought to reveal a secret, not a Masonic one, but a State secret. One of the best officers in our consular service was Brother Wolfe while Consul General at Cairo. It was at the time of the famous revolt of the Arabs against British rule, which for a time was very threatening. An English official came to the Consul General and said, "I think the rebels will capture Cairo, and I advise you to leave. If they succeed, their first act will be to kill all the English and Christians." "Well," said Consul Wolfe, carelessly flickering the ashes from his cigar, "that does not affect me, for I am neither; I am an American and a Jew."

The subject assigned to me, "The Mystic Tie," covers the whole field of Freemasonry, but it has a larger significance in the relation of peoples to each other, of capital and labor, of employer and employee and in the life of governments. It is a far cry back to the building of Solomon's temple and to the civilizations which had their rise and fall in the thousand years that intervened before the birth of Christ. We, as Masons, believe that the first successful effort to practically bring about the brotherhood of man occurred during the building of that wonderful temple. Solomon had gathered not only material but artisans from all the known world. These races and nationalities were natural enemies. The only international law known was force and might. But Hiram, the Master Builder, was more than an architect or a mechanic. He was a statesman and a philanthropist. He brought together these hostile elements into a society whose only creed was the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. For three thousand years that sentiment has slowly worked its way down the centuries. It has been often checked. For long periods it had no life, so far as the relations of nations and alien peoples to each other are concerned, but the flame has been kept ever burning upon the altars of Masonic Lodges.

We are to-day suddenly and in a large way brought face to face with the problem of universal peace. The message of the President of the United States meets with cordial and eager response from the King, government and people of Great Britain. In every church in England meetings are held to promote peace and good-will among men. Carnegie contributes a fund which yields five hundred thousand dollars a year to give practical impulse to the movement. The advocates of great armies and navies, who believe them to be insurance policies for the peace of the countries which keep enlarging them, are met for the first time with an opposition which is something more than theory and sentimentalism. The Hague Tribunal has demonstrated the efficiency and effectiveness of arbitration. It has peacefully settled international questions which under the rule of the ages could have been decided only by the arbitrament of the sword. Now President Taft suggests to the civilized nations of the world, groaning under the burden of maintaining their armies and navies and madly rushing toward national bankruptcy in the effort to equal or outdo each other by increasing the machinery of war, that arbitration may well become universal, and armies in the future instead of increasing can steadily diminish. As fast as this suggestion is accepted, so rapidly is extended among the peoples the beneficent influence of "The Mystic Tie."

In July I will celebrate the fiftieth year of my entrance into the Masonic fraternity. I think vigor, health and longevity have come to me because of its associations. They have given to me a half century of unalloyed pleasure, of warm friendships and of growth in the belief of the beneficent influences of our Order. What a wonderful half century from 1861, when I became a Mason, until now in 1911! In all that makes life worth the living, in all that adds to material prosperity, individual and national, in all that adds to the comforts of life and the alleviation of diseases, this half century has no parallel. It has given to the world a larger liberty in government for the people and by the people than any other half century of recorded time. Within this half century the petty States of Germany have become united in one empire and the German people, in their marvelous industrial development, in the expansion of their trade and their

commerce abroad, in liberties which they never knew before, have come to a large share in the blessings of the progress and evolution of this half cycle; so has united Italy; so has Republican France; so has Great Britain, with a larger and more responsive democracy than almost any nation. We have witnessed the creative processes of liberty penetrating the realm of Russian autocracy, and of Persian and Turkish absolutism, with something more than the semblance of representative government. The cables under the ocean bringing the round earth in intimate communication as the sun rises in its course every day, the leviathans of the deep constantly enlarging the sum of exchanges of products which promote peace, comfort and prosperity, the telephone, the necessary hand-maiden of our daily life, are all the discoveries of our half century. The air about us has been forced to yield the electric current which is in time to conserve our coal deposits and our forests and run our railroads and our industries. It has been forced to surrender upon commercial lines life-giving nitrogen to add to the productiveness of the soil and of its fruits. Education, at the expense of the State, is brought to the door of every child and equal opportunity to the home of every citizen.

One of the most affecting pictures in the story of Masonry occurred at the time of the disbandment of the American Army at the close of the Revolutionary War. Washington and his officers were Masons. They met as a lodge in his tent upon the eve of departure for their various homes, never to gather again. We can easily imagine in the exchange of fraternal greetings their expression to one another of a new extension of "The Mystic Tie." "These thirteen colonies, with their adverse interests and many antagonisms, have been brought into a unified republic. We transmit to our children a united nation founded upon the eternal principles of liberty, to be maintained by them forever. We have fought and won for our people a principle never before recognized in government and embodied in the immortal declaration which has been our inspiration in camp and upon battlefield, "All men are created equal, with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." "The Mystic Tie" framed that immortal document, the Constitution of the United States, and the machinery of the new government commenced its beneficent

work. The Republic of the United States grew in everything which constitutes a great, glorious and free empire for seventy-eight years. Fifty years ago yesterday, Fort Sumter was fired upon. In all the cabinets of Europe it was the universal belief, "This shot breaks 'The Mystic Tie,' and the Republic of the United States goes down in blood as many another has in the history of the world." The slave-holding oligarchy firmly believed, "This shot breaks 'The Mystic Tie' that binds our States to the Federal Government." No one who witnessed it, can ever forget the shock, the horror, the fear and the rage of that day. In the old village of Peekskill I, with others who had attended church, were in the happy crowds going to our homes. Newsboys suddenly flashed along the street with the morning papers from New York shouting, "Sumter has been fired upon." Men, women and children stopped as if paralyzed and with blanched faces read the news. But there was one support for "The Mystic Tie" which the conspirators had not reckoned upon. It was the sentiment for "Liberty and Union, one and inseparable, now and forever," spoken with lofty inspiration by Webster and embodied in every school book and spoken for a generation in every declamation contest and upon every school platform in the land. "Liberty and Union, one and inseparable, now and forever," rang from the farms and through the workshops and from the pulpits and penetrated the offices of the lawyers and doctors and the counting rooms of the merchants and the shops of the manufacturers. In response to that cry millions of men left their homes and marched to die if need be for the perpetuity through all eternity of "Liberty and Union, one and inseparable, now and forever." Slavery died, Lincoln reunited the Union, the seceded States came into the equal share with their victorious brethren of all the inestimable privilege of our government. The reunited country has moved forward by leaps and bounds to a position among the powers of the world, to an expansion of its liberties, to a development of its territories, to a union and prosperity of its peoples, never before accomplished anywhere or among any peoples in recorded time. So, my brethren, both within the lodge for three thousand years and in our country during its history, we live and move and have our being under "The Mystic Tie."

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Dinner Given by the Pilgrims Society of
New York, to MR. JOHN HAYS HAMMOND,
Special Ambassador to the Coronation of King
George V, on May 24, 1911.

MR. PRESIDENT: In honoring the Special Ambassador to Great Britain for the coronation of King George, we Pilgrims are performing one of our constitutional functions. The Pilgrims Society of New York and the Pilgrims Society of London have been among the most efficient agencies in bringing about an era of perpetual peace, good-will and friendship between the old country and the new. We meet to welcome a distinguished visitor from the other side, and then, when he goes away, we meet again to speed the parting guest. On the other hand, we give our benediction, our blessing and our good luck to our Ambassador going to his post, and then, when he retires or is retired, we greet him with a cordial welcome and consolation dinner, so that among the honors, which come as a matter of course to an American Ambassador going to England, are at least four good dinners and friendly functions—from the Pilgrims in New York when he goes, and London when he arrives, and London when he leaves, and in New York when he returns.

While Special Ambassadors have been known among royalties for centuries in the interchange of greetings on coronations and funeral ceremonies, I think the first from the United States was created by President McKinley, unless I might refer to an earlier occasion which was never reported. Mr. Emory Storrs, a distinguished but eccentric lawyer of Chicago, wanted to be Attorney-General in the Cabinet of President Arthur. He was greatly disappointed because he failed. His clients raised a fund to send him to Europe, and he went to Arthur and said that he would like to go with some distinction; so Arthur, who appreciated Storrs perfectly, had a commission made out on parchment, signed by himself and attested by the Secretary of State, with the great seal

attached, empowering Mr. Storrs as a Special Commissioner to look into the trouble about the importation of cattle into Great Britain from the United States. Our minister at that time was James Russell Lowell. Lowell was furious, saying that he was attending to that matter much better than could this presumptuous Chicago lawyer. Storrs was a passenger on the same ship with me. He showed me his credentials every day, with signature and stamp and the seal, and finally I said to him: "Storrs, what do you expect to accomplish?" "Well, of course," he said, "I have no intention of bothering about cattle. Our legation is amply competent to look after that. What I am after is to compel old Lowell who, I understand, shows few, if any, courtesies to Americans, to give me a dinner and request me to select the guests." Lowell told me afterward that to keep the peace with the brute and prevent trouble at Washington he granted this request, expecting that Storrs would want him to invite the Queen and the whole royal family. He was delighted when the Chicago lawyer selected Tyndall, Huxley, Tennyson and world-wide celebrities in literature, science and art. I believe the cattle question, while not burning very luridly, is still a spark, but, happily, its extinguishment will not be among the duties of our friend, Mr. Hammond.

It so happened that Mr. Storrs was also a fellow-passenger on our return voyage. I said: "Tell me all about that dinner." "Well," said Mr. Storrs, "I stood one day in absorbed attention before that marvelous Madonna by Raphael, in the Dresden Gallery. It seemed to me that a divine inspiration had guided the brush of the artist. Suddenly I was conscious that the gaze of the crowded room, all Americans, was concentrated on me instead of the picture. I turned on the people and said: "Excuse me, ladies and gentlemen, you are in the presence of the world's wonder, which to see is an event in life, and yet you drop this masterpiece for me. I never have attracted attention by my personal appearance in our own country. What is the matter? Is it my clothes? They were made in Chicago." "No," said a fine-looking man who acted as spokesman for the party, "you are of more interest to us than all the old masters, because you made old Lowell give you a dinner."

The Special Ambassador, during the ceremonies, is the whole show. The regular Ambassador is not in it. As a result, the regular Ambassador has never yet, however he may have acted outwardly, accepted with cordiality the presence of this functionary who precedes himself. Well, then, the question arises, and has always arisen, "What is the Special Ambassador to do?" Precisely the same as the special representatives from the other great powers. He is the President of the United States. Everywhere, at all places, he is received as the President of the United States. In other words he is Taft, and I am sure, as we all are, that our genial, companionable and attractive President has happily chosen in making our friend Hammond on this distinguished occasion his personal representative.

As a traveler for many years, I have had impressed upon me the difference between an Ambassador and a Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary. By a rule, four hundred years old, the Ambassador can stand covered, if he chooses to do that, in the presence of the King. In any event, he stands as an equal among the royalties, while a Minister Plenipotentiary in England goes in after a Duke and ahead of an Earl. This was our condition until the period of John Hay. The British Government, by all sorts of ruses and subterfuges, did their best to give some distinction to our Minister, but they never could induce the Ambassadors of other countries to let him in among the elect or to allow him to march in with them.

One time, when I was in Paris, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, whom I had met in America at the time I delivered the oration at the unveiling of Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor, sent a special messenger asking me to have the American Minister present me to him officially at the Foreign Office. The Minister and I went down and had to wait an hour after we arrived before we were admitted, though the hour had been named. On making an inquiry, we found that an Ambassador had arrived a few minutes after we did, but, in deference to his rank, he had to be admitted first. I inquired, "From what country is this Ambassador?" The answer was, "Hayti." With that experience I became a missionary for the creation of embassies, and I

think the narration of this incident had something to do with the final success of the movement.

While a Senator, I had a conference with the then President. The object of the consultation was to secure the retention of certain gentlemen in the diplomatic service and the appointment of others. The President said: "I am going to change nearly the whole diplomatic corps. While we never can do without this service so long as other countries have it, I regard the position as an honorary one to decorate citizens who deserve distinction. England can give titles, knight-hoods and decorations, France has the Legion of Honor, and other countries have various orders which become hereditary privileges, while we have nothing of the kind. Now critical matters are always conducted by cable directly through the foreign office and the Secretary of State and, therefore, I think that when a man has been ambassador for four years, or certainly six, he ought to yield and allow the decoration to be pinned onto the coat of some other worthy and deserving citizen. The honor lasts for his life. It gives him the precedence at all dinners in his own country, and is part of the record of his family to endless generations, so I propose to remove many of my most intimate friends, believing that I do them no harm, while I confer honor and distinction upon others whom I think eminently worthy." I do not entirely agree with the President in this view, because I have known many instances, in fact, they occur frequently, where the acquaintances formed by the ambassador with the ruling powers of the country to which he is accredited, and where the fact that he is on the spot often removes frictions which might grow into serious matters, and often removes prejudices and misunderstandings before they have reached the dignity of a controversy, which would call into play the activities of the ruler and the foreign office, on the one hand, and the President and the Secretary of State and possibly Congress, on the other.

Our friend will greet the King upon his coronation with a special message from the President at a more auspicious moment than has ever occurred before in the relations of our two countries, when a King was crowned or a President was inaugurated, because he arrives at the happy time when the perpetual settlement of disputes by arbitration, suggested by

President Taft and cordially seconded by King George, is receiving unprecedented welcome and approval from the Parliament and the people of Great Britain, and from the people of the United States, and only awaits the action of Congress to perfect its beneficent results.

It is with more than an expression of personal regard and good wishes that we bid Ambassador Hammond farewell. The occasion rises far above an individual compliment. It is because we, as Americans, recognize in his mission, and in the reception which it will receive in Great Britain, an added impetus to the movement so happily inaugurated by President Taft for an eternity of peace, friendship and the reciprocal benefits of amicable relations between Great Britain and the United States.

ADDRESS OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Luncheon of the Society of the Cincinnati
and Their Guests from Other State Societies,
Metropolitan Club, New York, May 10, 1911.

COMRADES: One of the most interesting of the commemorations of our Order of the Society of the Cincinnati is the celebration of its organization. On his birthday we have a formal, and more or less imposing, ceremonial for the founder of the Society, George Washington, but this occasion is always informal and the addresses particularly so.

I was reconstructing in my own mind on my way to this luncheon the scenery and conditions of the period when the Society was born, May 10th, 1783. The Continental Army and some of their French allies were encamped at Newburgh-on-the-Hudson. The war was over, and they were waiting for New York to be evacuated by the British troops in order that the victorious host of the Republic might make a formal entry, be disbanded, and return to their homes after seven years of glorious war. There is no more picturesque or beautiful spot in the world than the Highlands of the Hudson, and especially at this time of the year. Peace having arrived, these veterans of the patriot army were enjoying a rest after their long and arduous campaign and the terrible sufferings from want and privation which they had endured. Just below them was West Point suggesting a story still fresh in the minds of all how their struggle might have been a disastrous failure if Benedict Arnold's conspiracy at that place had been successful. The communion of the officers must have been full of reminiscences of gallant comrades who had died, of fields fought over again, of the chivalric French without whose assistance they might never have won. In the midst of such surroundings an inspiration came to the Commander-in-Chief, the one man upon whom devolved the greatest responsibilities of his age and the greatest trials of his time, but who with infallible judgment never made a mistake, and always, with his happy combination of genius, tact and sense, did the right thing at the right time. Of course, then as now, organizations were

created about the festive board. They knew no luncheons then. Dinner was always at or soon after noontime, and the evening meal was an informal affair called supper. That was the universal habit of the people of the United States during the first century of our existence. That dinner in Washington's tent was a suggestion, after all the hardships of these veteran soldiers, of the future prosperity of the country which they had created. The Hudson River was teeming with fish, and especially rich in that best of them all, the shad. How different is our experience now with this most delicious of the members of the finny tribe. As she returns from the sea to her spawning beds she is met in the lower bay with the sludge from the factories of the Standard Oil Company. Avoiding that as best she can, her next draught of what should be pure water is the sewage of the State of New Jersey, through the Passaic River, emptying into our harbor. As she seeks to escape in order to return to the place of her birth, she is assailed on every side with the outpourings of the refuse of this great city, of its sister on the other side and of the innumerable factories along the banks. Contrast this fish with the ones that were served on that memorable day in Washington's tent. It was my good fortune, as a Hudson River boy, to eat such shad in my early days. When the river was pure, when the water had the natural food of the fish, and when it was brought alive from the nets to the table, then the shad was a feast for the Gods.

But the Ramapo Hills and the hills about Newburgh were at that time full of game, and our forefathers were keen and successful sportsmen. There were no game laws, for none were needed, and game was not, as it is, unhappily, in our day, in danger of extermination by the pot hunter, the ignorant legislator passing foolish laws and officers enforcing them in a way to bring them into contempt and ridicule.

The cellars of the old colonial families were still full of the choicest vintages of the old world, and they were drawn upon freely and sent by General Schuyler and his associates to the Commander-in-Chief.

In these surroundings the Chief said to his compatriots, "Let us form a society which will stand forever for the prin-

ciples and the preservation of our new Republic." Then was drafted, with that marvelous compactness and lucidity which characterized all formal papers of Alexander Hamilton, the constitution which has just been read to us, and to that constitution, commencing with the signature of George Washington, there followed the officers of the Continental Army and the officers of their French allies. According to the habit of that period the membership was made hereditary.

I once heard one of the ablest of British statesmen and most eloquent of speakers, Lord Rosebery, say in his charming way that if the American colonies had not rebelled, and remained loyal to the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain, their growth and prosperity would probably have been the same if not greater. The overwhelming influence of these most populous, wealthy and powerful of the semi-independent colonies of the empire would have drawn Buckingham Palace to New York, Windsor Castle to the Hudson and the Parliament Houses to Central Park. Of course, all this was in a spirit of friendly humor and banter; nevertheless, it suggests a pregnant thought. The movement of populations to new territories in order that they may better their conditions, either in the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty or materially, is governed more by sentiment than by interest. Australia has an area a little greater than the United States. It has a soil and climate eminently fitted to sustain a large population. For sixty years it has had the same opportunities in government, in all essential liberties and in attractiveness as our own country, and yet, while our population has grown to one hundred million, Australasia has only about eight million, less than the single State of New York. Canada on our northern border has an area in square miles about the same as our own. Two-thirds of it at least is capable of profitable development in agriculture, forestry and mining. Its existence as a colony, with every independent power of self-government, except a sentimental attachment as a member of the British Empire and the English Crown, is coincident in years with that of the Republic of the United States, and yet the population of Canada, with all the power of Great Britain to assist, is less again than that of the single State of New York.

It is most interesting that the great migrations of the last century, of which such a large number came from the British Isles, have steadily flowed into the United States and could not be diverted to either Australasia or to Canada. If the governments of these colonies had been narrow or restricted or illiberal, the question could be easily answered, but every liberty, freedom of conscience, civil rights, liberty of locomotion, free press, universal suffrage, are common to all these governments. In the United States, however, the citizen is not a subject. He is a sovereign. Within his sphere he is a king, and, united to make a majority, he becomes the sovereign power in the land. It is this sentiment of becoming an independent citizen of a country with an independent government which has created out of our wilderness great commonwealths, which has spread populations over our plains and mountains and valleys while these enormous colonies of the mother country remain so largely still in primeval conditions.

It was about the time of the organization of the Society of the Cincinnati when the army, in arrears of pay for three years, angered at the Continental Congress by its neglect, presented a petition to Washington stating in effect that a new representative government never would be strong enough to live, and their safety and that of their children was in a powerful executive like a king; if he only would take this place, they had the power to put and keep him there and the country would be safe. Washington rejected their proposal with more temper than he had ever displayed, and, at the same time, read them a lesson, which they never forgot, upon the value of the liberty for which they had fought. It may have been that this contemplated revolt suggested to Washington the formation of this society as one of the bonds of union. The keynote, the central thought of its Constitution as approved by him, was loyalty to the Union of the States and the preservation of the National Government.

A few months afterwards Washington bid farewell to his officers at Fraunce's Tavern in New York and departed for his home at Mount Vernon. The officers, returning to the thirteen States to which they belonged, carried with them the charters of the State societies as they exist to-day. As we read of

the dangers of the young Republic, of the Articles of Confederation which proved a rope of sand, of the difficulties in the Constitutional Convention to form a national instrument which would be acceptable to all, of the opposition to its ratification which was successful for more than a year, and of the perils of the new government until Washington had placed it upon a firm foundation during his two terms as President, we can appreciate the value of this Society in cementing the Union of the States. Wireless telegraphy has come to us within the last decade, but wireless telepathy is as old as human intelligence. The officers of the Continental Army were the leading spirits in their several communities. Every one of them was actuated with the spirit of Washington. Mails were irregular and communication difficult in that early period, but each knew, as opposition to the Union, or to the adoption of the Constitution, or to the administration of Washington, showed itself in his neighborhood what Washington expected him to do, and, though his sword was sheathed, as a citizen he performed that duty as loyally as he would have done under the eye of his great commander upon the field of battle.

Washington seems to us to have been the most industrious man who ever lived. His estates, his business, his hospitality were enough work for anyone, but he kept up a correspondence, all written by his own hand, with his officers, with distinguished civilians and with eminent men in foreign lands. The Constitutional Convention could never have agreed except for his commanding influence and the support which he received from the constituencies of its members among the officers of the Army of the Revolution all over the country. It could never have been ratified by the States except that in every State Convention were these veterans carrying out the wishes, voicing the sentiments and loyally following the lead of their great chief. It is a delightful and at the same time a most responsible heritage that has come to us, the descendants of the officers who formed the Society of the Cincinnati. Each period has its crises and its perils the same as during the administration of Washington. They differ in degree and intensity, and yet each of them require for their proper solu-

tion the best intelligence, the highest patriotism and the most devoted loyalty of the citizen. To the members of the Society of the Cincinnati this duty is one specially imposed and gladly accepted. As we celebrate the organization of the Society, the birthday of Washington, its founder, and on the Fourth of July the Declaration of Independence, we study again the story of the founder, we read anew the life of the Republic and we renew afresh the obligations transmitted to us by our ancestors, and which we assumed when we signed our constitution.

From Leslie's Weekly, May 18, 1911.

Senator Depew Tells the Wonderful Secret of Success.

How a Rich Father Made His Son Work Up from the Bottom of the Ladder Unassisted

BY ARTHUR WALLACE DUNN.

EDITOR'S NOTE:—The year 1911 marks the fiftieth anniversary of Senator Depew's initial appearance in the public forum. During this time the Senator has been in intimate contact with public affairs. His picturesque figure is better known than that of almost any other in public life. Recently the Montauk Club of Brooklyn celebrated its twenty-first anniversary and the seventy-seventh anniversary of Senator Depew's birth. Over two hundred and sixty members gathered to honor the retired Senator, thus completing the twentieth birthday party which the club has tendered Mr. Depew. It was at this gathering, over which William H. English presided, that Senator Depew remarked: "This half century is a wonderful inspiration for optimism. It has no equal in all that tends to liberty, progress, intelligence and the influences which make life worth the living."

No man appeared in either house during the last session of the Sixty-first Congress who seemed to be more perfectly satisfied with his surroundings than Senator Chauncey M. Depew of New York. It was known, as soon as the results of the election of November 8th, 1910, were announced, that Senator Depew would not be re-elected to the Senate, because the Legislature of his State had gone Democratic. He was one of many prominent men who went to Washington to spend the last months they would ever have in public life. Many were dejected, cast down and gloomy. But Senator Depew was just as cheerful as before. His countenance was as beaming, his smile as pleasant, his greeting as hearty and his laugh as mirthful as in the days when he was still on the top wave of political and personal prosperity and success.

It was after observing him in his best mood that I made comment upon the way he accepted political reverses. The conversation became general, and in reply to a question, designed to bring out the views of Senator Depew, he discussed several matters and mentioned many things which even those who know him best either never knew or have forgotten. I then asked the Senator to put in a condensed form the main

features under discussion, and the result is the following interesting story:

Your inquiry, "How, in retiring from active public service when within a few months of seventy-seven years of age, do you look upon the past?" is difficult to answer. Every public man has critics and admirers, the one thinking his career a failure, the other a success far beyond its merits. The question seems to me to be, "Has one's life been useful and happy?" If useful without being happy, there have been mightily few dividends worth having. If happy without being useful, then a man's days have been frivolous and not worth considering.

I remember as if it were yesterday when my father, who was well-to-do and carrying on a prosperous business, said, "Now you have your profession as a lawyer, you have a small but good working library and your shingle is nailed on the door, you will never get another dollar from me except through my last will and testament." I could have got along easier after being thus thrown out of the second-story window if I had not been coddled before, but to be deprived of all income was a trying situation. Several times, when in great stress and debts, I went to my father and stated the conditions, and, while the tears would roll down his cheeks, he maintained a Spartan consistency in action. I thought very hard of him during those years, but have blessed him ever since, because this drastic method was essential to independence, though it might have been tempered with a little mercy.

Well, I commenced practicing law in a village of twenty-five hundred inhabitants, with an over-crowded bar of able and experienced lawyers and very little means in the community to support such a disproportionate number of legal talents. I knew no one outside of the village and had no means of entering upon the larger avenues which came to classmates who had formed valuable connections in large cities. Fifty-three years have passed since then. Whatever I am and have are due to my own exertions. I do not recall that I have been helped by anybody.

In the law, I early made up my mind that financial success and reputation were to be found more in corporation service than in general practice, and from the attorneyship of one of the smallest roads in the country—one hundred and twenty-

eight miles—I became general counsel of one of the largest railway systems in the United States and in the world. In business there came to me the presidency of this system, with all which that meant of powerful associations. Twice in my life, by indorsing notes—which has been my characteristic weakness—for friends, in order to help them without any expectation of any reward, I have lost all I had and been plunged into debt. Happily, however, a persistent, insistent and consistent cultivation of optimism inspired renewed efforts to overcome the disaster.

My mother was a devout Calvinist and I owe much to her continued teaching after every misfortune that all the ills of life are really blessings in the disciplinarian plan of the Lord for the ultimate best interests of the sufferer and in preparation for greater opportunities and larger fortune. I have found the doctrine always correct. One instance: Forty years ago I had by purchase a one-sixth interest in one of the most successful business enterprises in the world dependent upon the validity of a patent. At the urgent solicitation of friends who thought the investment worthless, I gave it up. The interest with the accumulations are worth to-day over one hundred millions of dollars. One man who had a similar experience, when his interest had become equal to about two millions, committed suicide because he had lost such a phenomenal fortune. On the contrary, I am most thankful for my loss, because I know that this luck would have led to absence of effort and loss of health from an indulgence in luxuries which unlimited money can buy that would have planted me in the old graveyard at Peekskill years ago. A dead multi-millionaire is of no use to himself or anybody else, while it is a glorious thing to have the continuing possession of health and happiness.

Yale in my day was a hotbed of politics. The slavery question between 1852, when I entered, and 1856, when I graduated, was breaking up old parties both in and out of the universities. Breaking away from my family and old friends and associates, I started on a stumping tour, immediately after my graduation in 1856, for Fremont and free soil. That appearance on the platform has been uninterrupted and persistent in all parts of the country for fifty-four years. This activity on the platform carried me for two terms to the Legislature

of the State of New York, fifty years ago. Then, as a candidate for secretary of state, the Democratic majority which had elected Governor Seymour the year before was reversed.

The Legislature being Republican and Seymour a Democrat, the Legislature assigned to the secretary of state the collection of the soldiers' votes. There were about four hundred thousand voters from New York in the field, and the difficulty of securing from Stanton, then Secretary of War, their location, so that the necessary papers could be sent and the votes secured, kept me in Washington for more than three months. But the character of the mission brought me in intimate contact with President Lincoln and in close association with all the members of his Cabinet. This experience for a young man, or for any man, was invaluable and is one of the choicest recollections of a lifetime. It could be expanded into a volume.

One lesson is impressed on me, and that is, in the long run before the people, no man permanently triumphs in an effort to fool them. I have met Cabinet ministers, Senators and members of Congress who were afraid to have their constituents know that they were acquainted with a railroad president, while privately they were seeking every favor it was possible for them to secure. During all my career I have taken the ground that one-fifth of the voters of the United States were interested, from a wage-earning standpoint, in the railways of the country and that they were entitled to as much consideration, were as good citizens and would make as good officers as the people engaged in any other pursuit. Certainly, as I have found them, they are not nearly so selfish and not nearly so wedded to personal interests as the majority of both Houses, who, though engaged in many pursuits, yet have their living in the tariff.

Facts are the most complete answer to loose charges and assertions. Notwithstanding all the rot published about the interests, and association with and working for the interests, which has been the common stock of many newspapers and magazines, I am proud of the record that I supported, by vote and voice, every administration measure of Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft. Certainly no representative of the people and member of the Republican party could do more. So, while general counsel of the New York Central Railroad,

I was offered the United States senatorship, hands down, in 1884, and declined. I was offered every position in Harrison's Cabinet, in 1888, except Secretary of State, and subsequently Secretary of State, and declined. While president of the New York Central Railroad, I received the entire vote of the State of New York through several ballots in the national convention for President and enough more to run the vote up to ninety-nine, and when I withdrew it would have been nearly three hundred on the next ballot, with a fair prospect of success. But I withdrew on the earnest petition of Western Republicans, because of the intense anti-railroad feeling in their several States. While still holding this position in the railway service, I was elected United States Senator.

Now, let us see. Two terms in the Legislature, secretary of state of New York, appointed but resigned the mission to Japan, offered and declined the ambassadorship to Germany, offered and declined three appointments in the Cabinet, offered and declined once United States senatorship and elected twice, and then retiring not because of defeat in the Legislature, but because a Democratic landslide had carried both the State and Legislature, make the results of life on the political side very satisfactory. Thirty years' service as Regent of the University of the State of New York, elected by the Legislature, and twelve years a member of the Governing Body of Yale University, elected by the Alumni, gave wide, varied and most interesting experiences among educators and hundreds of thousands who owed their careers to the schools. As general counsel of a railway system I retained lawyers in many states and was brought into intimate relations with two generations of leaders of the Bar, and as a railway president with all the captains of industry. This close touch with these masterful men has been most instructive in revealing the mainsprings in our railway, industrial, commercial and financial development, which has been so marvelous, especially in the last third of the century. A large, interesting and entertaining field seems to open to a veteran of these experiences when, after he has rounded out his seventy-seventh year, he enters upon the performance of such duties as a citizen as may fall to his lot, especially when he is in possession of abounding

health. Freed from cares and large responsibilities, loving life on all its varied sides, there ought to be, Providence permitting, happier years than ever before in the work and play of wise old age.

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LATER SPEECHES

OF

Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, LL.D.

At the Twenty-first Annual Dinner given by the Montauk Club of Brooklyn, in Celebration of Senator Depew's Seventy-eighth Birthday, May 4, 1912.

At the Pilgrims' Coronation Dinner, Savoy Hotel, London, June 28, 1911, in Honor of the Special Ambassador to the Coronation, Hon. John Hays Hammond.

At the Banquet given by the American Chamber of Commerce of Paris, France, July 4, 1911.

At the Meeting in Memory of Cornelius N. Bliss, held by the Republican Club of the City of New York, November 5, 1911.

At the Dinner of the New England Society of New York, December 22, 1911, in Response to the Toast: "The Puritan Survival"

At the Annual Dinner of the Society of the Genesee, at the Hotel Knickerbocker, New York City, January 20, 1912.

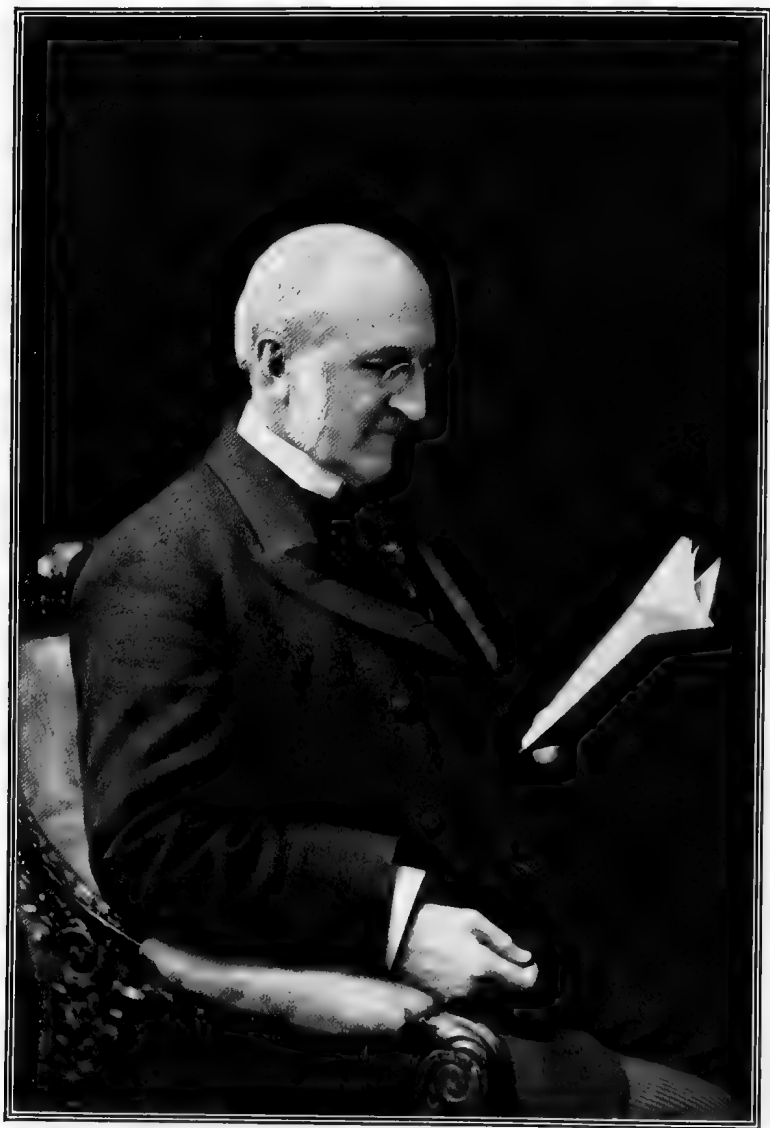
At the Celebration of the Treaty of Peace between France and the United States, made February 6, 1778, being the first Treaty Ever Made by the United States, February 6, 1912, at Cafe Martin, New York City.

At the Twenty-sixth Annual Lincoln Dinner of the Republican Club of the City of New York, at the Waldorf-Astoria, February 12, 1912.

At the Celebration by the New York State Society of the Cincinnati of the One Hundred and Eightieth Birthday of George Washington, at the Waldorf-Astoria, February 22, 1912.

At the Dinner given by the United Swedish Societies and the John Ericsson Memorial Association, March 9, 1912, at the Park Avenue Hotel, New York City, in Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle between Monitor and Merrimac.

At the Dinner given by the Lotos Club of New York to Mr. Justice Pitney, of the Supreme Court, May 2, 1912.



Chauncey M. Depew.

*Compliments of
Chauncey M. Depew.*

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Twenty-first Annual Dinner Given by
the Montauk Club of Brooklyn, in Celebra-
tion of his Seventy-eighth Birthday, May
4, 1912.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: To-night this series of birthday dinners comes of age. For twenty-one successive years you have honored me with this compliment. Some members have died, but their sons, introduced to me here when they were boys, are now succeeding their fathers among my generous hosts. I know nothing in the way of friendly greeting from a large body of men which compares with it. Some things have occurred at this table during this period which have been widely published and discussed. Through them the Montauk Club has been mentioned and known all over the world. I remember some years ago walking down the Strand in London with Governor Woodruff, how both of us were astonished to hear the newsboys shouting, "Speech of Chauncey Depew at the Montauk Club," and to see the name in black letters on every news stand under the heading of the newspaper which featured the event. Multitudes became familiar with the Montauk Club who had never before, and have never since, heard of Brooklyn.

The presence here of my friends Governor Woodruff and Comptroller Prendergast suggests an illuminating incident showing the effects of the Presidential primary on the citizen. They live in the same Congressional district which is entitled to two delegates to the National Republican Convention. It is a most intelligent community brought up under the eloquence of Henry Ward Beecher and the Reverend Dr. Storrs,

Senator Depew's birthday is April 23d, but, owing to local conditions, the celebration of the event this year was May 4th.

two of the most remarkable orators of this generation. Woodruff announced that he was for Taft. Prendergast declared emphatically for Roosevelt, and this constituency elected both unanimously.

In the varying periods at which people arrive at intelligent maturity, it is hard to determine how twenty-one came to be selected as the proper date for every degree of intelligence. In my own experience I have known many who were fully qualified for the responsibilities of manhood several years before twenty-one and others who never became of age. For some unaccountable reason they fail to grasp the opportunities which come to every man in a greater or less degree during his life. Their progress is arrested somehow and they never get beyond the station where they have landed, while others make a tremendous splurge in their progression but never arrive. Many in their intellectual equipment present a Queen Anne front with a Mary Ann back. They seem to possess everything necessary for success, and yet their friends are always disappointed in them and can never tell what screw is loose in their machinery.

In looking over the record of the seventy-eight years of my life, of which more than sixty years have been intensively active, during which time I have been blessed with rare opportunities for acquaintances and worldwide observations, I find no place for the pessimism of to-day which is so prevalent in every organ of public opinion and at every gathering of the people. They tell us that the family bond is loosening and the sacred tie of marriage has lost strength in the knot. There are twenty millions of married people in the United States, and the percentage of them who have sought relief in the courts from their bond is not appreciable compared with the whole. They say suicides are increasing. There are ninety millions of people in the United States, and a suicide is so rare that it occupies the headlines for that one unfortunate. They complain that there is an increase in breaches of trust. There have been in the last twenty years continuously in places of the highest trust in corporations and fiduciary relations with individuals at least twenty-five thousand people, and yet a breach of trust is so rare in a great institution or in

the administration of an estate that it arrests and occupies the attention of the whole country. They tell us that religion has been superseded by doubt, but the churches were never so near together, never worked so harmoniously in common, never were rendering such efficient service and never so open. Their contributions were never so large nor so efficiently applied. There were never so many assisting organizations, like the Salvation Army, the Volunteers of America, the Epworth League, the Christian Endeavor Society, the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, and now this newly organized and aggressive force, gathering strength from day to day, the Religion and Forward Movement.

There is unrest in the world it is true. It is more acute than ever before. It is in all countries. It has come from the increase in education and the enlargement of world view to the individual everywhere, but, with the exception of the infinitesimally small number of anarchistic leaders, it is an honest, earnest and wholesome striving for better conditions, and, in the end, for more harmonious relations between all classes and conditions of the community.

In our annual celebrations during these twenty-one years, we have touched lightly, for it could only be lightly, upon the happenings of the twelve months preceding. We have always drawn from them the lesson of hope and the inspiration of progress. As we look back over the whole twenty-one years they are pregnant with lessons. The principal lesson is the value of discussion and education in affairs affecting the government and the people as a whole. I have ceased to be frightened or greatly disturbed over tumultuous popular uprisings which seem to threaten the very foundations. The Ark of the Covenant may rock on rough roads, or with incompetent guides, or the efforts of impious hands to see what would follow the destruction of faith, and yet after proper efforts, after the lazy have been energized, after the atmosphere has been cleared by the heat of debate, the social and political fabric is not rebuilt but improved and remains stable for another long period.

Our experiment of government started with the Confederation. It was found to be a rope of sand. With that

experience our Fathers framed the present Constitution and created a Republic of sovereign States with a supreme central government. They threw every possible check around hasty and immature action and every guard which wisdom and forethought could devise against revolution. The result is that our Constitution is the only one in the world which lives to-day as it did one hundred and twenty-five years ago and is found as adaptable for all the wants, all the desires, all the aspirations and all the development of ninety millions of people and forty-eight States as it was for three millions of people and thirteen States.

I well remember the years of the slavery discussion from '48 to '61. It began with a few Abolitionists who were regarded as anarchists. With discussion and debate, it got so far as to safeguard the institution where it existed and to prohibit its extension into the States that were to be formed out of the new territories. On that issue and the preservation of the Union we fought the Civil War and slavery was abolished and the Union was triumphant. Then came the long discussion of reconstruction. Had the extremist prevailed the States which went into rebellion would have remained subject provinces with a certainty of frequent revolutions. Again discussion and debate allayed passions, buried resentments, recognized that the country must live, if it lived at all, under the Constitution of the Fathers and with a central government and sovereign States as they originated it. That settled forever the question of the Union of the States and of the powers of the Federal Government as distinguished from those of the state sovereignties.

We can all remember the cowardice of the public men of all parties in the United States during the period of irredeemable currency and fiat money. Again discussion and debate, aided by frequent panics and frightful bankruptcies, brought us to the resumption of specie payments. Then for twenty years cowardice among those who knew, and there were not many, and the desire to catch the fleeting sentiment of the hour by demagogues, and there were many, and the passionate belief in silver which was almost universal ruled and nearly ruined the country. Again discussion and debate, and the

wholesome discipline of financial disturbances and industrial disasters and general bankruptcies clarified the air and that question was disposed of. We came to a gold standard like all the rest of the highly organized industrial nations of the world.

We then entered at once upon an extraordinary period of development of resources, of extension of enterprises, of settlement of new lands, of organization of growing communities and a general prosperity such as the world has never witnessed.

The Presidents during this period, and I will only speak of those who have joined the majority, were Harrison, Cleveland and McKinley.

Harrison was one of the ablest of our Presidents. He was a great lawyer and had a wonderful and intuitive grasp of our internal policy and foreign relations. He had an unfortunate manner, though a very warm, genial, loving and lovable disposition. I have known many public men who failed long before they reached the presidency because of unfortunate manners. I have known many business men who were most unpopular for the same reason. It comes usually from the hard struggle in the beginning of a career. It comes sometimes from timidity and distrust of one's self. I have known people who were most rude and discourteous, which was their only method of asserting their individuality and equality with others who, for some reason which they could not account for, they distrusted or feared. General Harrison said to me one day, "My whole life has been one of struggle and fight. No one ever did me a favor or lent me a helping hand. I began alone without fortune or acquaintances. Every step of my career has been against violent, and often virulent, opposition." In that brief expression I saw the secret of his unpopularity. Everyone with whom he came in contact was a possible enemy, but when the story of his administration comes to be written his fame will grow brighter as the narrative advances.

Harrison offered me a place in his Cabinet at the beginning of his administration and the position of Secretary of State when Blaine resigned, which I declined, but promised to accept if he was re-elected. This brought about an opportunity

for intimacy with and study and appreciation of this remarkable man who won laurels on battlefields as a soldier, distinction at the Bar and an enduring place in our history as a statesman.

Cleveland I knew at the Bar—a strong, robust, virile, self-reliant, aggressive, courageous and honest personality. I have met all the leaders of the Bar of the last fifty years, and he certainly was an original. While President of the New York Central Railroad I offered him the attorneyship of the company in Western New York. I said to him that he could so organize his office as to keep his present practice which was worth ten thousand dollars a year, while the place I offered him would add fifteen thousand to it. His answer was unique—"I have set for myself a limit of the work I will do and reserve time enough for pleasure and sport and to fish. I have reached my limit in my private practice, and a hundred thousand dollars a year would not tempt me to add an hour more to what I am doing." His convictions were adamant. He had been brought up in the Democratic faith and would put into practice its theories. When the Wilson Tariff Bill was passed, which was a compromise between Democratic theories and protection practices within his party, he denounced it as a scheme of perfidy and dishonor and withheld his signature. He demanded the repeal of the Silver Purchase Bill which threatened endless trouble to our currency, and with the aid of Republican votes secured it. He vetoed the Bland Silver Bill which was the Waterloo of Silver, either by itself or in the double standard, being the standard of value in the United States.

Those three things lost him the support of his party. He retired from office with a unanimity never equalled because the Republicans were naturally against him and he did not have a corporal's guard of political friends in his own party. But his rugged figure will ever be a conspicuous one among American statesmen. His style in his public documents and addresses had a Johnsonian characteristic which was new in our political literature. I asked him where he acquired it and how. He said, "My father was a clergyman. His means were limited and he could not afford to send me to the academies, and so I

was educated at home. He took particular pains with my compositions, and naturally he taught me the style of his sermons." The result was, he said, that while at the Bar in Buffalo when a member died he was always called upon to write the obituary.

McKinley was the most genial and lovable of our Presidents. He would give a visitor a Pink from the bouquet which was always on his table in a manner which led the recipient to believe that none other of the millions of men and women and children in the United States had ever received such a distinction. Yet he gave Pinks to everybody who called without destroying this illusion.

He was the most accomplished campaigner among our Presidents and had few equals upon the platform in popularity and persuasion. He sensed, as it were, the public temper and how it might be moved as few have ever done. His campaign for the Presidency was an extraordinary illustration of the thought, which I have been advancing, that with discussion, argument and debate the American people in the end come out right no matter how wrong they may have been from temporary causes for a period. Mark Hanna, the most practical statesman who ever lived, raised and spent four millions of dollars in that canvass, not to buy votes but to erect a platform and put a speaker on it in every school district in the United States, to secure space in the columns of newspapers in every locality and to print tons of literature and send colporteurs to distribute it in buggy-wagons throughout all the highways and byways of the land. That was what won the gold standard over the silver craze under most unfavorable conditions.

Mr. McKinley sent for me during this campaign and said, "I wish you could take your car and go down through those disaffected regions where the farmers are all Republicans, but where they are in distress because corn is fifteen cents and wheat sixty cents a bushel, and they cannot pay the interest on their mortgages and have hard work with their taxes. They think fifty-cent silver, if it has the stamp of the United States upon it, will give them double for their corn, wheat, cattle and hogs, and then they can use it at par to pay the interest on

their mortgages and their taxes, and the other things which they would ordinarily desire they can go without for a long time."

"But," I said, "Mr. McKinley, I am President of a great railroad and with a private car those people would mob me." He said, "Nothing of the kind. It is the shock which will secure their attention and then your talk will convince them of their error." I remember once from a great audience a farmer arose, when I thought I was making an impressive argument against silver, and said, "Chauncey Depew, we are glad to see you, but what right have you to come among us in our distress when the present prices of the things we have to sell do not pay for the raising of them, while we think with fifty-cent silver we will get double the price. But that is not what I complain of; it is that you, President of a great railroad; with a salary of fifty thousand dollars a year, and in a private car, should come down here and attempt to instruct us." I lost the audience at once. There is a favorite song in Yale—"Audacia! Audacia! It is the word I love the best." I stepped to the front of the platform while a great hush came over the audience and said, "Sir, my father gave me my education and profession and then figuratively threw me out of the window to look out for myself and never helped me afterward. I began in a little village, with no capital but my legs, my hands and my head. I had a hard struggle trying cases before country Justices of the Peace, where I would furnish my own horse and wagon and ride ten, fifteen or twenty miles and back after the case was tried for five dollars or less. An opportunity came to me to be the attorney of a railroad. I saw that meant that instead of one client and petty grievances, every one of the thousands of stockholders of the company would be my clients, as represented in the Board of Directors whom they elected every year, so that at one leap instead of having a score or so of clients I got ten thousand.

"A railroad counsel's business is mainly to prevent the strong and masterful men who have come up from the bottom and are running the corporation from violating the law and to keep them straight within the law. Now I am President, and getting a big salary, as you say, and I am here in a private car

which is all part of my compensation. I understand (this I did not know, but it happened to be true) that you have at college a son who is your pride and hope; that after he graduates at the coming Commencement you intend to make him a lawyer and you are making great sacrifices to put him through college and give him his profession. Now, if you are doing that in order that he shall practice law for his health, then I have no right to be here, but if you wish him to start where I did, with the chance of getting where I am, then I do not think that you can criticise me." He yelled so you could hear him a mile, "Go on, Chauncey, you are all right." There is no subject so interesting as what is effective in political discussion before an audience. That little incident, illustrative of the possibilities of American Citizenship for the youth of the land, had more influence than all the argument which could be presented.

Mr. McKinley sent for me again and said, "Mr. Bryan is producing a tremendous impression in our State, and a very dangerous one, not by what he says, but by his endurance. No one has ever gone through our State of Ohio who has spoken so often and so many hours in a single day. The papers are full of his last performance. I want you to go over that route and do the same thing. As you are nearly twice his age, it will be the most effective counterblast I can think of." I did as he requested, starting at seven o'clock in the morning, stopping at the same places, scheduled for the same length of time, with enormous audiences everywhere, and capped it by adding a two-hour speech to a great audience at night. The endurance test as a qualification for the Presidency passed out of the canvass.

With the exception of the war for the preservation of the Union, all our perils under the Constitution have been averted by discussion and debate. A busy people, engrossed in their various occupations, have little time to study serious questions of government. The ability to transact the affairs of the people, the same as the affairs of a corporation, or a firm, or a co-operative society, or a charitable or religious organization, or a labor union, does not depend upon superior intelligence but upon experience and the time which can be taken from

one's other pursuits to serve a large constituency. It is because the lawyer or the plumber, the doctor or the carpenter, the minister or the mason, knows more about his particular business and the performance of it in the interests of others than the whole mass can that society is thus divided, and each employs the others for its comfort, safety and enterprises. So, representative government became established by the selection by busy people of competent men to do this special and most needful work.

At present, however, there is a new agitation which has much force and is progressing rapidly and is exciting in many minds the greatest alarm. We are better educated than ever before and that has created our unrest. At the same time our minds are open to a quicker apprehension of the right and wrong of all propositions by more education.

I have not time here, nor have you, to enter upon this discussion, except to briefly state a few self-evident facts. The appeal made by their projectors to the people for these new policies is that the people do not have their share in their own government. As ours is absolutely a government by the people, with frequent elections to test the capacity and ability of the officials whom they have elected, it is hard to see how the people do not have their share in the government.

Pushed to the extreme, the claim is that the people do not need mayors and boards of aldermen for their cities, or presidents and village trustees for their villages, or boards of supervisors for their counties, or governors and legislatures for their States, or Presidents and Congresses for the general government, nor courts to protect the weak against the strong and to administer justice without fear or favor of power, or wealth or influence. It is proposed as soon as a governor or a congressman or a judge is elected to allow a small percentage of the people to immediately, by petition, suspend his functions and compel him to submit to another election. When an unpopular verdict was rendered the other day, some of the most advanced of this school added to their program also the recall of the jury. These propositions are not new. They were fully argued by Aristotle over twenty-three hundred years ago and declared by him to substitute a government by anarchy

for a government by law. But, then, the new school tells us that there is no virtue or wisdom in the past which we are bound to follow. The old fogies who framed the Constitution are all right in their niches in the temple of fame, but except as models for monuments to ornament parks their usefulness long since departed.

There was an article recently in the papers that the literature class at one of our greatest colleges had been permitted to discard history and the classics and study only recent literature. Aristotle was quoted favorably by one of the authors in the day's lesson, and the professor asked in what period Aristotle wrote. The answer was, "about 1840; certainly not earlier."

I discovered while in the Senate that there are statesmen who, especially on questions in which labor unions are interested, will prepare and present bills which are transparently unconstitutional. For fear that they may lose the authorship, they will not permit any changes. Their colleagues let them have their way on account of the strength of Senatorial courtesy, and also for fear that an attempt to amend will be regarded as hostility to the measure by the labor unions. When the Supreme Court decides the act unconstitutional, the author berates the court and shouts that the people do not govern themselves and wants the judges recalled. He neglects to state that the court invariably says in its decision how that act can be made constitutional and effect the same purpose. The court simply performs its duty and throws back upon the legislative body the necessity of performing its duty intelligently.

We have long had the referendum in our State on Constitutional questions. The Constitutional amendments, however, have been thoroughly prepared and passed by two legislatures before they are submitted, and have been discussed in the press and on the platform. A table made up recently showed this startling result; that on all the constitutional amendments which have been submitted to the people of this State only thirty per cent of those who voted for public officers at the time voted at all on the constitutional amendments, and a majority of this thirty per cent put the amendments into the Constitution, the result showing that a minority of about six-

teen per cent of the voters of the State who voted at the same elections amended the fundamental law. In the submission last year the amendments, most of which were most valuable, were defeated. I met at the polls a doctor of great reputation and extensive practice and a mechanic who does a great deal of work for me. I said, "How about the constitutional amendments?" and each answered substantially, "I have not had time to read and study them, and so voted against them all on the ground that we seem to have a pretty good Constitution and I do not propose to change it without more study and reflection."

I have twice been a Member of the Legislature of our State and twelve years a United States Senator. It has given me much experience in the way laws are made. An act is prepared, more or less carefully, and then passes the scrutiny of a committee, and then attention and debate in the whole house, and then review by the Governor. Even with this care many laws fail to meet the object for which they were enacted, and are amended or repealed at the next session. Under the initiative a small minority, wishing to accomplish some definite object, prepares a statute, and the majority of those who vote, which may be much less than a majority of the whole electorate, command the Legislature to enact and the Governor to sign this law just as this little body prepared it. I know of no device so potent for able, scheming, plausible, unscrupulous and rich men to defraud and injure the public.

With us in New York City the evils of our local government become so great at times that the people arise in their might and men of all parties unite in a reform movement which places clean and able representatives of the people in power. As soon as the reform has accomplished its purpose, the various elements disband, and, except under similar revolutionary efforts years afterward, can never be brought together. This reform movement elected Mayor Gaynor, who has proved to be an admirable executive, Comptroller Pendergast, one of the best financial officers the City has ever had, and the Borough Presidents who are doing excellent work. In addition, it elected several Justices of the Supreme Court. Under the recall, when Tammany had once more come into

power and we had forgotten, as we do so rapidly, the causes which elected the reform ticket, ten per cent of the voters could recall them and within a year they would all be out of office and the old order in authority.

During this period there has been greater progress for universal peace among the nations than in all preceding time, and yet the last year shows how frail, as yet, are ties of peace. The lure of the Orient captured the imagination of Rome three thousand years ago, for the destruction of Carthage, the control of the Mediterranean and the conquest of Africa. After thirty centuries there is a recrudescence of the same spirit, which seizes Tripoli and brings on a war with Turkey, producing international complications, the result of which no one can predict.

I met last summer an old diplomat who was a mine of the secrets of his profession. He told a story which illustrated how near we were, for a while, to the most disastrous war of modern times. The German Emperor, one of the greatest rulers his country ever had, made his delphic utterance that Germany must have her place in the Sun. From the German standpoint, and after her success in acquiring Alsace and Lorraine, there was no country which could be crowded out to make room for Germany, except France. There was a revolt against the Sultan of Morocco and anarchy existed at the Moroccan capital. Germany said to France, "As you have the controlling influence in Morocco, you must restore order, so our people will not be molested in their trade and commerce, or we will do it." France said, "Very well, we will assume the responsibility." The French army marched to Fez, subdued the rebellion, restored order and saved the Sultan. Germany then said, "This success of yours has given France such undue prominence in Africa that Germany must be compensated." But France replied, "We undertook this at your request, and not for conquest, and we will retire at once and move our army back to Algiers." Germany said, "That will not help. Your government has been given prestige, and that is an undue power, and so we must be compensated."

German cruisers appeared in Moroccan ports, and an army of 700,000 men, the strongest, best disciplined and best

equipped in the world, was ready to move across the French frontier on an hour's notice. England emphatically declared herself an ally of France, and Russia was not far behind. It was discovered that the French army was more efficient than since Napoleon, and that there was a patriotic spirit in France which had not been equalled in any period since the Republic. Then began the famous conversations between my old friend Ambassador Cambon and the German foreign minister von Kinderlen-Waechter. Cambon is a delightful conversationalist, but even his powers must have been strained to keep up the interest for hours every day during several months. The conversations resulted, however, in granting France suzerainty over Morocco, which may cause more trouble than it will give profit, and Germany secured its bigger place in the Sun by taking from France a large part of her African possessions.

Contempt for the wisdom of the past is also not new. My father was a plain-spoken man with the characteristics of the earlier people whose ancestors settled along the Hudson River. In his declining years he was accustomed to sit on the piazza, smoke his cigar and read his paper. There were some college students practicing for a boat race in the bay. Returning after their exercises, they jumped onto the wall of the terrace in front of the house and began discussing the superiority of the present generation over the preceding ones. One of them said triumphantly, "My father is seventy-five years old and for his period a very intelligent man, but with the opportunities there are to-day I know more and have more intelligence than my father has at seventy-five," and turning around he shouted to my father, "Well, old gentleman, what do you think of that?" Father's answer was, "I was thinking what a damned fool your father must be."

No American can fail to be a progressive. The story of American progress during the one hundred and twenty-five years under our form of government is a most thrilling narrative. It surpasses in romance and reality the progress of all preceding ages. We only need to study to learn that most of these new notions are not progress, but they were tried thoroughly and ended in lamentable disasters in ancient and

mediæval republics and in the revolutions of modern governments.

Talleyrand, fleeing from the guillotine in the French Revolution, and coming to America, wrote to Madame de Stael that he found here thirty-two religions and only one sauce, but when Talleyrand's countrymen arrive on the occasion of the celebration of the unveiling of the monument to Champlain this week, they will discover that probably we have more forms of religion and religious sects than existed in Talleyrand's time, but we have as many sauces in our restaurants and hotels as are to be found in Paris.

We think there is nothing new under the sun, and Wall Street remarks, as if it was the discovery of that self-sufficient body, that there is danger in advance information, but this wise old Frenchman Talleyrand also wrote that in betting on certainties he lost one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

I met a friend the other day whom I have not seen for a long time and whom I thought had joined the majority because he was a consumptive. He seemed to be as he had been twenty years before, and said, "No, Chauncey, it was not consumption but asthma, and you can live forever if you only have asthma and the grace of God."

One of my experiences while in Europe is to be asked about expatriated Americans who have assumed titles of nobility. A French lady of the bluest blood said to me last summer, "A countryman of yours who claims French descent has sent to us an extraordinary genealogy. It surpasses in distinction that of the oldest and most distinguished of our nobility. Do you know how he came by it?" "Oh, yes," I said, "his ancestor fought gloriously at Agincourt in 1415, and was killed at Waterloo."

Well, my friends, the beautiful lesson which we can draw from these recurring anniversaries and their review of the past is what a glorious world we live in and what a mighty privilege it is to live. We were not created to dream or to long for idle days and hours, but to so work that in its accomplishments we derive pleasure from our work and to so play that our amusements are our health restorers and our sanatoriums, to so love that we can derive comfort and instruction and happiness

from the whole circle, not only of our friends but of our acquaintances, and to have faith so firm in our country and its future that without fear and without doubt, but with hope eternal, we can, after we have done our share as citizens, leave it unimpaired to those who come after us.

(Stenographic Report)

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Pilgrims' Coronation Dinner, Savoy
Hotel, London, Wednesday, June 28, 1911,
in Honor of the Special Ambassador to the
Coronation, Hon. John Hays Hammond.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: I am very glad to be here because for one reason I had the pleasure of making a speech at the Pilgrims' Dinner in New York for Mr. Hammond as Special Ambassador to the Coronation. I assured him at the time that he would be dined by the Pilgrims' Society in London when he arrived, and again by the Pilgrims' Society in America when he returned, and I advised him that in a mission of peace among men, and especially between English speaking peoples, the thing for him to do to promote goodwill and friendship between the people of the United States and the people of Great Britain was to accept every invitation which was offered him on this side and give as many in return as he could. Now I am happily relieved from the limitations which fall upon a Special Ambassador and upon all Ambassadors. I am three months out of office. There is no Sword of Damocles hanging over my head, but as an independent citizen I can acquire more influence at home by saying imprudent things as a private citizen than I can by talking solid sense. (Laughter.) And there is another special reason which gratifies me in being here to-night, and that is that we are under the Chairmanship of Mr. Balfour—(applause)—because all Americans remember that at a critical period in our history, when we were in danger of having a little difficulty of ours enormously exaggerated by a Continental combine against us, that combine was defeated largely by the personal influence of Mr. Balfour. (Cheers.) Now I wonder—because on occasions like this marvelous Coronation, and I have been at all the demonstrations of Empire which have occurred in Great Britain, there are certain things which occur to a man who has been many years, and I have been so

many that I will not acknowledge them, in touch with public affairs—I wonder whether if John Adams, mentioned by Mr. Birrell, Washington, Hamilton and Jefferson, the four great creators of our Republic, had been re-incarnated and, in five-guinea seats—(laughter)—had witnessed that marvelous procession, with Canada, the elder daughter of the Empire, at the head, they would have regretted that they were not at the head, as they would have been if we had not separated. My impression is that they would not. (Laughter.) If I was an Ambassador and had been in jail, I would not have said that, but what they would have thought is that in the evolution of the two countries which has occurred since the separation, each carrying out its own ideas in its own way to its manifest destiny, they have worked upon each other in the development of liberty as they never could have done if they had been together. (Applause.)

Now, Daniel Webster, who was the greatest of our orators, in a remarkable figure, as I remember it, said: “Whose morning drumbeat, following the sun, and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England.” His idea, eighty years ago, was that those martial strains meant power, the power of the white race over subject peoples. But the music which went round the world on the day of the Coronation was entirely different, because it was an anthem which reached a continuous circle of the same blood and same people, saying that the succession of independent states belting the Globe were united in one Empire in a glory and strength greater than men of Webster’s period ever dreamed of. (Applause.) Now we over in our country, I do not know how it is here, are considerably disturbed on the subject of germs. (Laughter.) We have, in a measure, exterminated the mosquito, and just before I left some scientific health people had organized in every village a society called “Swat the House-fly.” (Laughter.) During nearly eighty years the microbes have been fighting and having a jolly time in my blood, but, so far as I know, without any disturbance to myself; and neither my digestion nor appetite nor health have ever been interfered with by germs or microbes. I dismiss,

therefore, the health side; but it occurred to me as I was coming across the Channel, and reading the marvelous accounts of the Coronation ceremonies, that there is something in the germ in the historical sense.

Up in Litchfield, Connecticut, is an old Puritan church, and the Pastor of that church, during the Revolutionary War, preached a sermon when some American troops were going through to join General Washington at West Point, and he was so proud of it that he entered it on the Parish Register. I read it there; it was a long sermon. General Howe was coming across the ocean with reinforcements for the British in New York, and the good parson said: "Oh, Lord, I pray Thee that on that fleet Thy lightnings will play and Thy thunders will roar, and that the waters may rise and bury them in the deep, and that they may go to that reward of eternal fire where they will be properly received, for Thy glory and the safety of Thy Saints, among this Thy people." (Loud laughter.) Now that germ has grown, so that Brother Birrell wrote 7,000 words describing the procession to a great New York newspaper, and so that in every considerable place in the United States the churches were open for religious services for the health and prosperity of the British people and the King just consecrated. (Applause.) Now these germs, the germ of Runnymede, for instance, when those glorious old athletes who did not think learning amounted to anything except for the parson and the lawyer, and therefore with the hilts of their swords put their mark upon the seals of Magna Charta, they enclosed in that charter a germ which in the evolution of the centuries produced the principles which Jefferson wrote in the Declaration of Independence, which Lincoln wrote in the proclamation emancipating the slaves, and which for you has created a democracy which, while retaining the forms and ceremonies of the past, has so united Mediævalism with Modernism that you have a democratic government more democratic in its immediate responsiveness to the people than any which exists.

Well, my friends, since I have been here I have heard that there is a fear, which mars somewhat the pleasure of our visit, that we are seeking Canada. Now I want to assure

you that there are no signs of that. Uncle Sam does not mean anything of the kind, and is not serious in his intentions, though rather tumultuous in his ardor, and the beautiful Lady of the Snows up North understands him perfectly. This reciprocity treaty shows that she is quite able to take care of herself, and of contributing something to the general welfare of the Empire to which she belongs. We have acquired within the last ten years Hawaii and Porto Rico and the Philippines, and we think we have not, but still we have, Cuba. (Loud laughter.) So we are in a position on this question of annexation and of not wanting any more territory of the opulently gifted lady in the sense of *avoir du pois*, who was a suburbanite, whom I saw getting on the train one day with her arms full of bundles, as suburbanite ladies always are, and as she put a foot on the step of the car one fell off, and when she picked it up two fell off. A neighbor said to her, "I am detained in the City to-night, may I add this parcel to yours for my wife?" and she answered: "No, I have troubles enough of my own." (Laughter.)

I have noticed also that there is no difference in the evolution of Parliamentary life between Great Britain and the United States. If I may be reminiscent for a moment, about twenty-five years ago Lord Rosebery invited me to go after dinner to a Meeting in the interests of Empire—Colonials and the like. It was a small room and they were principally colonial bishops. There was no talk but plenty of champagne and cigars. In fact, it was a spiritual meeting. (Laughter.) Well, there was not a word of it in next morning's papers. Twenty-five years have passed, and in the hall of Rufus, the seat of the mother of Parliaments, this same Lord Rosebery recently presided at a great banquet to the colonial representatives of these empires in themselves, yet all affiliated in interest and patriotism with the central government, working out their own destinies, united somewhat as our States are, with our central government. That assembly listened to one of the happiest speeches from Lord Rosebery, one of the most gifted of your orators, voicing the sentiment of Empire for Great Britain. Mr. Gladstone once said to me that if he could select from among all the years of recorded time a half

century, the half century he would select would be that in which he had lived, because it was a half century of emancipation. If he could have lived twenty-five years more and witnessed this progress of which he never dreamed, he would, I think, have felt that the half century which closed on the day when King George V. was anointed and crowned was infinitely grander than the half century of which he was so proud. I have been listening to speeches in the United States Senate for the last twelve years, and I read your speeches and I am still alive. I notice that the development of politics among statesmen and politicians is the same with you as it is with us, until a question is decided. In one of the last debates in the Senate when I was there six months ago, a Senator was evolving his ideas on a critical question in the country which was specially acute in his own State, and he was a candidate for re-election. (Laughter.) He was on the fence, not, as one of your statesmen happily has said, with his flag nailed to it. A witty colleague of mine said "That speech reminds me of an old farmer in my State who came to town carrying a family clock, and said to the maker, 'I do not know what is the matter with this clock. When it strikes twelve and the hand points to four, I know it is half past two, and nobody knows it but me.'" Well, my friend President Taft has done many happy things since he has been President of the United States. He has succeeded in having more of his policies enacted into laws than almost any President since Lincoln, his plea for International Arbitration marks a new era of peace among nations. He has been singularly happy in his appointments to office. His appointments to the Supreme Court of the United States have led to that wonderful decision in the Standard Oil and other cases which have clarified the air and made our old Constitution good for another 125 years, because now all great problems are to be judged by the light of reason. The foolish virgins were put out of business because they had no oil. Standard Oil is to be put out of business because they have too much. (Laughter.) One of the happiest appointments of President Taft was when he determined to wipe out that jail record of Hammond by making him Special Ambassador on this oc-

casion. We, as Americans, believe he could have made no better selection. It was my privilege to know for many years the late King very well, and to appreciate, as only those could who knew him socially, that he was the best representative of an English gentleman or a gentleman of any race; that he was the most hospitable of hosts, the most charming of companions, the most genial of men; and that, so far as America and Americans were concerned, he was on all occasions bringing all the power of his great place as Prince of Wales and as King to the bettering of the relations between our two countries. No man or woman arrived here from America who was worthy of his recognition as an artist or who was striving for some distinction, that he did not lend every aid to put that person upon a platform where that talent could be recognized. As a diplomatist, no one did so much to bring about peace between Great Britain and other countries. Now, the hope of every American represented by our Special Ambassador, and our regular Ambassador, represented by the unanimous voice of the Press of the United States, is that the popularity with his own people and that the success as a King of George V. will be as great as, and if possible greater than, was his father's. (Applause.)

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW **at the Banquet Given by the American** **Chamber of Commerce of Paris, France,** **July 4, 1911.**

Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, who had just returned from the United States on a mission of peace by arbitration, had closed a brilliant speech describing his visit and the result of his mission, when Mr. Depew was asked to reply.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: I dislike at this late hour to break the charm of the address which has just been delivered by my friend Baron d'Estournelles de Constant. No itinerary of the United States will ever be perfect which does not include his description of our cities. No booming Western City, especially Denver and Seattle, will be worthy of the ambition which they have to outrival New York, unless they scatter a leaflet reading "See what the baron says about us."

The following little story about Boston and Chicago, I think, fully illustrates the merits and virtues of both. A Boston man found himself in Heaven, and when Saint Peter called his attention to all the wonderful things there, he said, "Yes, very fine, but it isn't Boston." When a Chicago man was being led about the other world he said to his attendant, "I did not know that Chicago was so much like Heaven," and the attendant replied, "Well, you are not in Heaven."

I am not surprised that after the visit which our friend, the baron, paid to Salt Lake City he no longer keeps quiet on the subject of the girls. Really, the gentleman from Boston Chamber of Commerce voiced the sentiment of the evening when he said that here in Paris we Americans feel at home. There has been no missionary going to the United States in the interest of peace and amity, no missionary recalling to Americans what the French did for us, no missionary since Lafayette, who has received such a welcome, because of the people whom he represented and the message he brought, as did the orator who has just taken his seat,

our friend the Baron d'Estournelles de Constant. There are two places in the world where we Americans can celebrate the Fourth of July with absolute unanimity. Every country celebrates its natal day or its one great event within its own boundaries, and among its own people, but it is possible for Americans to celebrate their natal day with enthusiasm on French territory and within the boundaries of our own country. People speak of reciprocity as if it were a new sentiment, a new doctrine recently discovered, but reciprocity is 125 years. It was reciprocity which in our darkest hour, when we were without funds, when our soldiers were barefooted, when we were nearly out of ammunition and guns, that brought to us the French Army within, and the French Navy without, and money and credit.

Now I am not a believer in germs. You know it is a fixed American idea to have germs. In America everybody is afraid to drink water or eat food, because of germs. I have lived until my seventy-eighth year, and I have eaten and drunk everything that has come my way, and there has been going on in my veins that battle which they say is continually raging between germs of one hard name and their enemies with another. If one succeeds you are a "Gonner," and if another is victorious you are safe, but here I am, so far as I can see without impaired digestion or vitality, and I only know that the results are entirely satisfactory. However, speaking about germs, there is a germ I do believe in, and that is the germ in the origin of nations and their development. The most noted germ that has ever come into this world since Christ, is the germ of liberty which appeared in the United States, and was voiced in the Declaration of Independence, but that germ compressed in this sentence by Jefferson that "All men are created equal with certain inalienable rights among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" meant little at that time anywhere. In the United States was a landed aristocracy, we had no universal suffrage, suffrage was dependent upon property, and France at that time was an absolute monarchy, with a few philosophers writing about theoretical liberty. But that germ in the course of 135 years has, in our country, put us at the head of all nations, as the

most populous, the most wealthy, the most liberty enjoying, the happiest people in the world. That germ came over here to France with Lafayette, Rochambeau and other French soldiers returning from America, and it produced the French Revolution, which destroyed absolutism in France, and through many revolutions it has at last in our day led to a republic which will be as perpetual as our own.

The Baron very happily spoke of dreams and sentiment. I have always been a believer in dreams and sentiment. I believe that sentiment is the one thing which has moved the world more than anything else. Lord Rosebery, the most eloquent of British orators, made a speech, partly serious, partly badinage, in which he said it was a mistake for the American Colonies to have separated from Great Britain, because had they remained, they would have drawn the King to New York, Windsor Castle somewhere in Central Park, and Buckingham Palace in City Hall Park. Here comes in the sentiment, and the dream. Canada has been a self-governing colony just as long as the United States has been an independent Republic, Australia for more than fifty years has been a self-governing colony. Canada has a territory as large as the United States, two thirds of which is quite as productive, yet she has two millions of inhabitants less than the State of New York. Australia has a territory as large and as productive as the United States, but has a population less than New York City, and four millions less than the State of New York; four millions in Australia, seven millions in Canada, and ninety millions in the United States! What is the reason? Emigration from Europe has created all these countries. People left Europe to find civil and religious liberty, but they have civil and religious liberty in Canada and Australia as well as in the United States. People left Europe to be able to govern themselves, but they govern themselves as well in Canada and Australia as they do in the United States, and they have every opportunity we enjoy but one, and that is a shadow. That shadow is the sovereignty of Great Britain. It is not exercised, except for their protection. Great Britain taxes herself for their defence, but there is over them the shadow of a power, in whose administration they have no

voice, while in our country, on the contrary, ninety millions feel independent and happy because with us there is no shadow before the sun of liberty. Its beams shine undimmed on every part of our land, and each citizen is a sovereign.

We have grown a good deal since you of the American Chamber of Commerce of Paris left to settle over here, and we have many ideas there that you would grasp if you came home more frequently. I was immensely impressed with this the other day in London. In England every newspaper praises the King. I read newspapers of all kinds, of all shades of opinion, and most of their columns were devoted editorially to praising and reporting the movements and popularity of the King, while in America no newspaper would consider itself worthy of circulation if it did not criticise the President. And yet every nation must have some ideals which the newspapers won't criticise, and which will inspire loyalty and love in the citizen. What is ours? It is the old Constitution which has stood by us without change for 125 years. England has had twenty changes in her constitution in that time. France has had fifteen or twenty new ones, Germany has had any number, even Russia and Turkey are recognizing the progress of liberty. But that old Constitution of ours prepared by those gentlemen in knee breeches, buckles, and powdered wigs, stood for three millions of people along the line of our Atlantic Coast, and is equally able to take care of ninety millions within American Territory, and ten millions in the Philippines, and the islands of the sea without, and it has not been changed in its essence in 125 years. That is our ideal, but recently there have been gentlemen with us who delight to call themselves "Progressive" and "Insurgents." I was associated with them for twelve years in the Senate very pleasantly, but publicly they believe in unrest. They have been attacking the Constitution because they say all men do not have equal opportunities. Then came the trial of the trusts, but recently the Supreme Court of the United States has rendered a decision which has swept the platform out from under them, and made the Constitution good for another 125 years. That great decision says that every trade combination in the United States which may be re-

garded as unlawful, must be judged by the light of reason, and if individuals or the corporations do not possess proper reasons for their business they can go to the Circuit Court and be advised. So there is no danger of confiscation in the United States any more. If that decision had sustained the contention of the lawyers of the government that every combination whatsoever, whether good or bad, is illegal, we would have had chaos, and the greatest panic the world ever knew, until we could have readjusted ourselves, but in the light of reason we are all right. In the light of reason the foolish virgins had no oil, so they were not allowed to the wedding feast, and by the light of reason the Standard Oil had too much—and must reorganize.

We have another thing in our country in which we are superior to all others, and that is though we have parties we have no political animosities. The representatives of both parties in the Senate and the House of Representatives discuss in an academic way the things upon which they differ without personal rancor or enmity. But when I was over in England the other day, I discovered that they had got to a point where we were at the close of the Civil War, with the same passions and the same bitterness—especially among the women. When the women are bitter in politics, you may make up your mind that a remarkable evolution is in progress. I was sitting the other night at dinner talking to a charming Englishwoman of high social position and rank and of broad sympathies and benevolence, who is doing good in every way that will benefit her people, and somehow, as always happens now in England, the conversation switched round to the present political crisis, and the enormous impending changes in their constitution—including the abolition of the Upper Chamber, and she said: "Do you know I wish we were back in the good old days. I would like to assist in hanging every member of the Government, and as for Winston Churchill I would like to see him tortured first, and then put on the string." I like Winston Churchill and respect his great abilities. I was fond of his father, and am a great admirer of his mother. He is a brilliant young man destined to a most promising future. I am a great admirer of

Asquith. He is a very able statesman, and as an American I should feel bad to see him hung on a string. We have no such sentiment as that in the United States. Over in London they said to me: "How can you talk of arbitration and peace when you are trying to steal Canada indirectly?" Great Scott, gentlemen, we have got ice enough of our own. We keep eggs in cold storage for a year, and we have our own problems, which are quite sufficient. We have the Philippines—whose people say they want to be free, in a way that will permit them to do as they please, but leave us the expense of maintaining their government and protecting them. We have Guam, Hawaii, and Porto Rico, and we sometimes think we have got rid of Cuba. I also said to my English friends: "We have the South American Republics, who get all they can of English, German, and French money, and then when a Dreadnought goes over to collect it, they say to Uncle Sam: "The sacred Monroe Doctrine must be safeguarded by you." Our inventors at home are in the way of helping everybody. There is Mr. Burbank, the wizard of California. Not long ago he visited Pittsburgh, and when he went home he commenced practising on the succulent which we all love so well—the pea—and he has succeeded in producing a square pea which will not roll off the blade of multi-millionaires who still eat with a knife.

Well, my friends, I think the sentiment of this Fourth of July Banquet—I have been to nearly all that this Chamber has celebrated, and each one has had some sentiment of its own—all of them for international commerce and goodwill—but this Fourth of July Banquet voices another and more universal sentiment than any of its predecessors, and its grand apostle is our guest here to-night—Baron d'Estournelles de Constant. This is a celebration largely in the interest of Peace by Arbitration. Commencing with Abraham Lincoln I have known every President of the United States very well, known them in their peculiarities, in their faults, in their good qualities, and in their great ones. For everyone of them was a great man, or he could not have been by the suffrage of the American people President of the United States. But of all those Presidents, how many will be remembered 100 years

from now? Lincoln, whom I first knew, yes, so long as the Republic endures. Grant? Yes, but among the rest! Now we have a President who differs from all others I have known, because of characteristics I have never met in a politician anywhere, and I think it is because his education has been not political but judicial. He has been most of his life on the bench, but there it has been his habit to listen patiently to the arguments of both sides, to render his decision according to the law and the Constitution, and then dismiss it, never thinking of himself one moment, nor how that decision would affect his own fortunes, and so in the three years in which Taft has been President he has succeeded in securing the enactment into law of more of his recommendations than almost any President of my time, and yet the underlying sentiment with him has been, "This is right. The majority of my people may be against it, but I think they are mistaken. My judgment is it is the best for the country. I cannot for a moment consider its effect upon my future." Mr. Taft, a man unaffected by passion, partisanship, or faction at home has looked abroad over the great field of international amity, brought to his attention while Governor of the Philippines, and has set forth to the world (and that is to be his monument) a Message of Peace. While all nations are building larger battleships, increasing the number of their armies, and offering the highest rewards for inventions in destructive machinery and explosives, this calm Executive of the United States conceives the idea that possibly even now there may be brought about such relations between the different countries of the world that war may be abolished and peace established, and commerce and amity be the governing principles of international relations. Taft will live, because a principle like this, once started never stops, and as President of the United States he has already secured the cordial assent of Great Britain and France, and he will live because he has brought into the relations of the people of the world a recognition of the principle which was founded on Calvary, and which has never yet been realized. Peace among nations and Brotherhood among men.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at a Meeting in Memory of Cornelius N.
Bliss, held by the Republican Club of the
City of New York, on Sunday Afternoon,
November 5, 1911.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: It is a most appropriate and fitting function of this Club that it should meet to pay tribute to the memory of Cornelius N. Bliss. He was one of the oldest of its members and one of its Presidents. He was one of the most active of our associates in the public work of this organization. The principles for which the club stands and for which it has always labored were the ones in which he firmly believed. That belief was not perfunctory nor found its activity in the mere expression of opinion. He thought business prosperity and the employment of labor and capital and content and happiness among the people were dependent upon these principles being crystallized into laws. With that view he gave without stint both personal effort and contributions for the promotion of the cause.

When he came to New York in 1866, forty-five years ago, mercantile conditions in this city were such that a newcomer had only a fighting chance in the field. Our merchants had a national and international reputation and were jealous to the point of active hostilities of any competition in their various lines. A. T. Stewart, the Grinnells, Howland, Aspinwall, and a few others, were the merchant princes of the times. The financial situation made the conduct of enterprises, and especially the starting of new ones, exceedingly hazardous. We had just come out of the Civil War and the country had not adjusted itself to normal conditions. We had an irredeemable currency and as its necessary adjunct the wildest speculation. The methods now of limiting competition are for those who are engaged in the various branches of the production of articles based upon a common product of raw material to combine into great corporations. Against this

method of either preventing or of limiting competition, Congress, Legislatures and courts are actively at war. Methods of accomplishing the same results forty-five years ago were more effective and much simpler. The day of the great corporation had not arrived, but the day of the masterful man was here as it has been for thousands of years and will be for thousands of years to come, in every community, great or small. A. T. Stewart was the pioneer in what is now known as the department store. He was a genius in his line and his shrewdness and keenest commercial sense was based upon a liberal education. When a competitor was doing a prosperous business in one of the lines which he sold, he immediately investigated his condition. If it was cottons or silks or woollens, or whatever, that was this merchant's specialty, Stewart soon became familiar with his financial standing, with the quality of his goods and with the elements of his success. Then by wide advertisements he would sell that special product away below cost, relying upon the profit in other departments to make up his own losses at the same time that this ruinous competition drove the competitor into bankruptcy. If he was a man of ability who was desirable, Stewart would annex him as an employee, but if there was no place the poor fellow joined the ranks of the unsuccessful and the unfortunate. It is an interesting question whether this merciless method which no law could reach is better than combinations in a corporation, provided that corporation's activities are governed by proper supervision by a bureau of the government to prevent monopoly and restraint of trade.

Mr. Bliss had to meet, as his business grew, the full force of this terrific onslaught. It shows how thoroughly he had studied his field, how well he was entrenched in his source of supply and distribution that he successfully resisted the attack and compelled recognition from these powerful interests as one who was able both to take care of himself, and, in the struggle became too intense, to make it exceedingly uncomfortable for them.

The frightful waste of the Civil War, the wild speculation which followed, the trafficking in legislation to secure franchises to be madly promoted, culminated in six years after Mr

Bliss entered upon business here in the disastrous panic of 1873. Only one like it, that of 1837, had any parallel with us and few had been known in the whole history of finance and commerce. The Stock Exchange closed, banks suspended, mercantile houses went into bankruptcy, and thousands were reduced from affluence to poverty and other thousands saw business which they had spent a lifetime in building up shattered to pieces. A statistician has proved that only one out of two hundred of the men who enter mercantile business in New York survive the strain and competition. The rest sooner or later succumb. But in the panic of 1873 this average of one in two hundred went to a point where it might safely be said that more than two-thirds of the business men came to grief. It was eminently a time of the survival of the fittest. Only level heads who had resisted the speculations in which vast fortunes were made and lost between the close of the Civil War and the panic, far-sighted brains which had foreseen the storm and prepared for it, were equal to the emergency. It is a tribute to the sagacity of Mr. Bliss, to the standing which he had attained in these few years with the banks, and among his associates and competitors, that he came out of this terrific struggle with his credit enhanced and his position invulnerable.

After that his life as a merchant was one of widening influence and operations. The financial disturbances which shook the country, disturbed business and ruined individuals and firms, growing out of the resumption of specie payments, of the silver craze, of the gold standard, were all foreseen and provided for by this able, accomplished and masterful man. So that years before his death he was, in its best sense, a merchant prince and had so systematized, co-ordinated and perfected his great business that he could give more and more of his time to public affairs and to his duties as a citizen. It is this phase of his career as a public citizen that especially interests us. The New York merchant and business man is proverbially neglectful of civic duties and unwilling to assume the burdens of civic responsibilities.

When I was a young man I was given a dinner by the leading merchants of New York for something which I had done

for the city as a Member of the Legislature. I think it was in 1863. Having lived all my life in the country where everybody participates in political activities, I was amazed to discover that of the thirty gentlemen at this table, representing three-fourths of the wealth and great business of the city, not one of them ever voted except in Presidential elections, none of them belonged to political clubs or party organizations. All of them united in vigorous denunciations of the corruptions of public life and the untrustworthiness of men who held public office. These were conditions which they as a united body could have at any time corrected, but they not only refused to serve, they put a ban upon the professional or business activities of those who were willing to enter upon the duties of public life.

Mr. Bliss represented an entirely different class of great merchants. Following the injunction to "Be diligent in business, serving the Lord" meant for him in practice diligence in business as much as any successful man, but he believed the best service he could render to the Lord outside his business duties was active, intelligent and helpful citizenship. He believed that neither his business as a manufacturer and a merchant nor any other would be permanently successful unless a protective tariff, a sound currency and the gold standard was part of the law of the land. He believed that it was his highest duty to labor for the success of the party and the candidates which would secure this legislation. He recognized, as few men did then, but as everybody does now, the intimate relation there is between business and politics. Almost immediately on becoming a resident of our city he joined the local Republican organization. Throughout his whole life he was an organization party man and at the same time a practical reformer. Twice during his career, when the county organization seemed inefficient or corrupt, he organized and headed committees which succeeded in bringing about the necessary reform. With rare courage for one whose business could be so easily affected by municipal legislation and municipal officials, he organized and headed committees for the purification of the government of this great city.

In all this long and active career, extending over half a century, he never was an office seeker. He believed that office

should come to a man and not be solicited. The party wanted at different times so rare a character to strengthen its position by becoming its candidate for the various offices within its gift, but he declined everything except at the earnest solicitation of President McKinley of the Secretaryship of the Interior. The unselfishness of his political activities is best illustrated by the positions which he did take. For four successive Presidential campaigns he was the Treasurer of the National Committee. There is no place in party work which involves so much labor, so much criticism and so little applause. He accepted the treasurership of the National Committee in the second Harrison campaign because he saw that there had come about one of those revulsions in public feeling which might lead to disaster to the party he loved and to the principles he considered essential for the public welfare. The people wanted a change and no effort could check their desire. The change came and he saw in its results all the business disasters which he had been predicting his active life. He saw what he regarded as the greatest bulwark of prosperity of business in the tariff assailed and changed. He saw the closing of mills and multitudes thrown out of employment by results brought about by legislation which he abhorred. When the campaign came for the first election of McKinley he again accepted the treasurership, because he believed that a return to old policies was the salvation of his country and of himself in his business relations. No one contributed more to the success of President McKinley and the restoration of Republican policies than did Mr. Bliss.

We are a peculiar people. We are fond of experiments in every department of life. We take larger chances in business and greater risks in experiment than any industrial nation in the world. Prosperity does not satisfy us; we want more. Within certain almost defined cycles we as a people need to go to school—the school of experience. A generation comes upon the stage which has forgotten or is too young to remember the teachings of the past. When these periods arrive, and they will in the future as they have in the past, the lesson which is taught by disasters to business, to employment and to every form of activity, will bring about again the practice of

the principles which have proved successful and they will prevail until the period of experiment has again arrived.

So, Mr. Bliss, feeling that the first four years of McKinley had not yet consolidated into permanency the measures in which he believed, undertook this same difficult and disagreeable task for the third time and in the Roosevelt campaign for the fourth of Treasurer of the National Committee. He applied to this delicate and perilous position principles upon which he had conducted his own business. The books were perfectly kept and the accounting was complete. Not a breath of suspicion, not a charge of any kind, ever assailed the treasurer in these four great campaigns in which millions were raised, part of it by himself, and all of it passed through his hands.

There is one place in the Cabinet which is in a measure the despair of every President. All others of his advisers but the Secretary of the Interior can win applause and fame. But the Secretary of the Interior has against him constant pressure, and if he is upright, aggressive and intelligent, he will receive the virulent abuse and misrepresentation of the most powerful interests in the country. Land hunger would sacrifice every right of the Indian and take from him the land upon which he lives and the home in which he dwells. If the Secretary objects he can expect only investigating committees and unlimited abuse. The exploiters of national resources wish to monopolize them and they form syndicates so powerful and backed by so much newspaper support and Congressional influence that if the Secretary of the Interior fails to yield to their demands he becomes the enemy of progress and the foe of the people. A large number of Indian contractors and Indian agents, who engage in practices which are often corrupt and sometimes inhuman, have powerful friends to protect them and easy ways of reaching the public ear against an uncompromising public official. It was to clean this Augean stable that President McKinley summoned to his aid the great reputation, incorruptible integrity, unsurpassed business judgment and executive ability of Cornelius N. Bliss. When this high but disagreeable task had been completed to the entire satisfaction of the President, the Secretary of the Interior asked to be re-

leased that he might return to his neglected personal affairs, and at the same time give that large measure which he had always so freely bestowed as a private citizen to the public service.

Gentlemen, we of this Club who met him in the intimacy of this family circle saw in the successful man of business not the uncompromising reformer, not the rigid financier, not the active politician, but the most genial, companionable and lovable of men. Going to his reward when nearing four score, he has left behind him a superb example for American youth and filled a brilliant page in the history of his country.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW **at the Dinner of the New England Society of** **New York, December 22, 1911, in Response** **to the Toast : "The Puritan Survival."**

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: For over forty years it has been my privilege to attend, more or less frequently, the annual dinners of the New England Society of New York. At these meetings I have heard many admirable presentations in response to Forefathers' Day, but few, if any of them, reached the high level of the speech just delivered by Dr. Frothingham. He has caught and portrayed the spirit of the founders, and its influence in the development of government in succeeding generations, with a comprehensive and broad-minded grasp of the situation which will place in our records a classic and a model. Such an occasion is suggestive with reminiscence. There have been famous nights with this Society of national and international significance. In that period great orators from all over the country have here sprung into fame, increased their reputations or lost them. The finest original wit of our period, who was President, and a frequent speaker, was William M. Evarts. In variety and genius in portraying and arousing emotions and spontaneous eloquence, we had here Henry Ward Beecher. The list would include nearly every man whose name has been associated with American history during the last half century.

I recall one night which was significant, dramatic and historical. The passions of the Civil War were not wholly dissipated. It was still possible to arouse enthusiasm and to make political capital upon slavery and disunion. General Sherman in an impromptu speech, full of that nervous fire which was his characteristic, threw a picture on the wall of the disbandment of the Union Army, the triumphant march of the soldiers past the President and the return of the veterans to prosperous homes and their various vocations. It was a picture of grand triumph that equalled the historic description

of the wonderful processions of Roman conquerors down the Appian Way into the imperial city. A young man from the South came next. He drew a most marvelous and pathetic picture of the Confederate soldiers, beaten but undismayed, ragged and foot-sore, going back to farms which had been ravaged by the armies of both sides, the fences down, the houses gone, the stock disappeared, and then, speaking as a young man for the new South, he pictured the regeneration which had come in agriculture, in industries, in the development of resources, in the creation of cities, towns, hamlets and homes out of all this misery by these heroes of the same race but inspired by different ideas. By that speech Henry W. Grady leaped into national fame. But these two addresses, one from the great soldier and the other from the representative of the new South, published everywhere and read in every household, advanced the cause of reunion between the two sections of the country more than could have been accomplished by half a century of discussion and legislation.

In a way this night to which I have referred illustrates the effectiveness of the dominant principles of the Pilgrim idea—"free speech." The Pilgrims were reformers. They were about the only real ones of their period. Madame Roland, standing at the foot of the scaffold, as she ascended the steps cried out:

"Oh, Liberty! in thy name what crimes are committed."

So reform, which is always popular, is the well-worn ladder of ambition, demagoguery and greed. There is the reformer who quickly grasps the passion of the hour and by fanning it into flame becomes its leader and gets into Congress or higher. There is the other who is part demagogue and part crank and wholly an agitator, who contributes little to the progress of the world; but there is last the man of foresight, courage and patriotism, who is always in advance of his time, not so far ahead but his contemporaries can catch up, but who is far enough to blaze the way and lead them by reason toward light and liberty. To this latter class the Pilgrims preëminently belong. They lived in an age when might made right, when it was considered entirely proper to seize the goods of others if you had the power and needed them. But when the

Mayflower anchored off Cape Cod and a boat with the explorers went ashore and the Indians fled leaving behind the corn which they had stored for the winter, it was promptly appropriated and taken on board the ship. This was in accordance with the principles of the age. The Pilgrims needed the corn, without it they could not have planted for the next year's harvest, but they left a note saying that they would pay for it whenever the Indians called and presented proper vouchers. The fact that they left no address did not militate against the merit of the case. It was the beginning of that beneficent principle, now recognized everywhere among civilized nations, of the sanctity of property in the hands of the weak. Though the old rule still prevails in the partition of Africa by the great powers—thank Heaven, this government of the Pilgrims has no part in that expropriation.

In the Pilgrim period all governments had one set of laws for kings and nobles and another for the people, one set of rights for caste and privilege and another for those who had neither. But the Pilgrims in the cabin of the Mayflower in their immortal charter said, "We will found a government of just and equal laws." That was a principle which was understandable, and again the Pilgrims were in advance, but not too far in advance, of the period in which they lived and labored. It took a long time, even in our own development, to work out that principle. The Puritan who came afterward to the Massachusetts colonies repudiated it utterly. But there is nothing so dynamic as an idea which has in it the principal of generation and regeneration. Winthrop said, "If all are to be Governors, who is to govern." There being no lawyers, New England existed for a hundred years without lawyers, and as they recognized the necessity of government they confided it to their ministers and created a theocracy. The government of the ministers demonstrated the necessity in the enactment of laws of the assistance of lawyers. They banished Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson because they preached religious toleration, and in banishing them the dynamics of religious toleration began to expand and in less than half a century that had become part of both Pilgrim and Puritan policy.

These hard-headed, hard-working, close-thinking forefathers believed in representative government. Though they had the town meeting, a perfect democracy, for their village and local affairs, yet they felt that there should be trained men selected and elected to make their laws, so they left it first to the clergy and then selected in their localities the men who could give the time and who were best equipped to be members of the Legislatures and Congress, and to be governors and judges.

In some of the newer States they are getting away from this idea. We are told now that the best government is that which goes to the whole people with all its laws and all its legislation, that the initiative, the referendum and the recall place the people in possession of the power which they have lost through selecting men to be their governors, their judges, their legislators, their mayors and their aldermen.

I met the other night at dinner the Governor of Oregon, the foremost State in putting into practice these policies, a charming, capable and eloquent gentleman. His mission, and that of the Governors, was not political but to make known the products of their States. Of course, one of the most attractive is the Oregon apple. He showed how Oregon reversed her new principle of government by mass meeting in placing apples on the market. The farmers select a committee of experts. The individual farmer is not permitted to market as of old, when his good apples were on top, the moderate ones in the middle and the bad in the rest of the barrel. These experts, representatives of the mass, select the best apples and sell them as such and the second best and sell them as such, and make the rest into hard cider to be drunk in prohibition communities. Now, the distinguished, eloquent and able Senator from Oregon is the best advocate and exponent of the political practices of his State. His view condensed is that the composite citizen, which means the whole mass, is more intelligent for executive duties than any governor, or for judicial duties than any judge, or for legislation than any legislator, and, therefore, we need only a framework of officers without power or authority to be instructed by this composite man. So, instead of having able executives and learned judges and tried

and experienced legislators, these officers are rubber stamps for the composite man. But the composite man, acting as a mass upon subjects that he cannot possibly act upon intelligently if he attends to his business, is necessarily composed of the selected apples, the specked apples and the bad apples. His selection of representatives is usually excellent, but his executive acts, judicial decisions and legislation under such conditions are permeated with the inebriating qualities of the headiest hard cider.

Our forefathers in developing the country left the largest freedom of action to the individual citizen. The common law was the spirit of their jurisprudence and judicial decisions. Their legislation was to promote agriculture and industries and develop resources. They were not equal to the enactment of a Sherman Anti-Trust Law, and would not have understood it if they had been. Shakespeare says, "Some are born great, some achieve greatness and some have greatness thrust upon them." John Sherman was an excellent Senator and a distinguished Secretary of the Treasury, but he would have dropped into the oblivion of Senators and Secretaries of the Treasury out of office and been forgotten except that the trust law which bears his name has kept him before the public more than any statesman of his period and made him immortal. Now comes a few days ago ex-Senator Edmunds, the distinguished Chairman of the Judiciary Committee which had charge of that bill, perfected, reported and passed it, who informs us that there is not in it one single line of John Sherman. This is not going to take away the fame of Sherman; resting solely upon a myth it is in no more danger than the name of America though not discovered by Amerigo Vespucci. There is not a single thing about that law which is not Pilgrim or Puritan, but while it affects every industry in the country, it has lain practically dormant for twenty years. The main reason being that nobody really understood it. National Conventions of both parties in their platforms resolved that it must be amended, but it was such a fetish in the public mind that one party was afraid to touch it and the other daren't. It was interpreted at one time to prohibit all big business and restore the country to the retail store, the windmill and the mill pond.

That would have prevented all development. It has at other times been differently interpreted. So far as doing business under it was concerned during these twenty years, the business man felt that they were in a position which was described by that famous revivalist at the beginning of the last century, Lorenzo Dow. He preached a sermon in Peekskill, which was a strong Calvinistic neighborhood, the echo of which still lingers in the hills and valleys. In this he said in regard to predestination that its practical effect was "You will and you won't; you shall and you shan't; you can and you can't; you will be damned if you do, and you will be damned if you don't." Happily, now the Supreme Court of the United States has shown that it has more courage and more wisdom than Congress, and has declared that the shackles shall be taken away from legitimate and rightful business by interpreting the law according to the light of reason, which means the common law, and so we get back to the foundation of the Pilgrim Fathers.

It is unfortunate for business that we not only legislate after the horse is stolen, but we permit and encourage first the stealing of the horse. Take the formation of the steel trust, for instance, and I am neither advocating nor defending that corporation. There never was so much publicity with any business. Its magnitude attracted the attention and fired the imagination not only of this country but of the world. The newspapers daily had columns describing the processes of organization, the plants belonging to other corporations and to individuals and firms which were bought and how much was paid for them and what the profits were to the seller and the purchasers. Even Mr. Carnegie, going out of business as he was by that merger, suspended his usual rule of reticence and told the world how much he received for his interests and what, at five per cent, the income would be per year. The subscriptions to the syndicate were public and universally understood and largely participated in. There were no protests in the press; there was not a voice raised in Congress; the judicial machinery of the government was motionless, the calendars of the courts were clean of law suits, and the Sherman Law was on the statute books the same as it is to-day.

Now after this great business machinery has got into working order and the stocks are distributed among hundreds of thousands of investors, and nearly three hundred thousand laborers are dependent for the living of themselves and their families upon its operations, it is discovered that it is under the condemnation of the Sherman Law and must be disbanded.

A Yankee, with Puritan ancestors, who was a stockholder in the Standard Oil Company, came to me the other day for advice. He said, "I hold ten shares in the Standard Oil Company. I now discover that I was at that time a monopolist and a bad citizen. The company has been purged of sin by a reorganization under the direction of the court. It has been divided into thirty-seven different corporations. The interests of the stockholders are widely different in each of these corporations. I have received a notice from one of them that I have a one hundred and seventy-four three hundred and five one thousandth interest in a share of stock in that corporation, and upon it they have declared a dividend of two dollars a share. Now, I can't figure out what ought to be the size of the check which they will send me or whether it will be right when it arrives. The only thing that I do know is that now I am an honest man and patriotic citizen."

My friends, the spirit of Pilgrim liberty is that it recognizes the rewards which come to ability, industry and thrift and has no fear of bigness, unless that bigness is used to monopolize, to restrain or to oppress the little fellow. The true way to meet that situation, the spirit of Pilgrim liberty in which it can be met and must be met if it is to be properly solved, has already been demonstrated in the treatment of the railroads by the Interstate Commerce Commission at Washington and the Public Service Commission in the State of New York. They do not disband the corporations and create confusion, they do not disturb the business world by uncertainties, but vested with the supreme power of the people; they prevent oppression, wrongdoing and favoritism, and promote publicity and enforce a square deal for everybody. The watchword of the future must be this demonstrated principle of government regulation of all great industries.

The safety valve of free institutions is discussion, publicity and free speech.

I read recently an account of a meeting in some western city of a convention in which they complained by resolution that the west and the south have not a proper place in American history because the Yankees have written all the histories. Well, why? Because they could write histories which people would read. Ink and paper is just as cheap and as plentiful in every part of the country as in New England or New York. Culture is not wholly confined to New England. They have a Browning Society in Chicago. There used to be a weekly luncheon at Parker's Hotel in Boston and around the table were gathered Ralph Waldo Emerson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Longfellow, Whittier, Judge Rockwell Hoar, Theodore Parker, Hawthorne. The contributions of these authors have made American literature classic and apparently they have no successors. I cannot help thinking that environment and tradition had much to do with their development.

Nothing so promotes and accelerates the expansion of a good idea as persecution. I remember a public meeting in New York addressed by Wendell Phillips. On account of enormous trade interests with the South and prejudice against the negro, there was very little sentiment anywhere in the North for abolition of slavery. Wendell Phillips was the greatest orator to whom I ever listened, and I have heard most of them. Captain Rynders, a Tammany brave of that period, organized a mob to break up that meeting, and succeeded. The story of that riot and the suppression of Phillips' speech promoted a discussion of slavery all over the country which advanced by more than a half century Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation.

There is not much popular feeling in the United States on behalf of this movement for peace and arbitration, so happily and wisely inaugurated by President Taft. We are too near our war of sentiment for Cuba, and too much absorbed in our business affairs and too distant from any possibility of attack upon ourselves for the people to give much thought to the subject, but when four hundred naturalized citizens, inspired by European and not American politics, broke up the

meeting in Carnegie Hall the other evening they gave an irresistible impulse to the demand of the American people for the ratification of these arbitration treaties. The men who broke up that meeting with a riot and suppressed the speeches of our most eminent citizens failed to understand the true meaning of American liberty, free speech and open discussion. A man complained to his neighbor that another neighbor greeted him with a slap on the breast that broke the cigars in his pocket, and he was prejudiced against that sort of affection, but he said, "I'll fix him so he will never do it again. I have replaced the cigars with two sticks of dynamite."

The dynamic force of American liberty is before the world most conspicuously to-day in the young American Shuster, who has been appointed treasurer of the dying kingdom of Persia. The great powers were pacifying Persia apparently to divide her territory when her difficulties became insoluble, but this young American makes a contract with Persia to manage her finances, and soon finds that the country is rich enough with stability to pay its debts and have orderly government. That means a revival of the Empire of Cyrus the Great under the auspices of a twenty-eight-year-old American. The Russian bear growls, the Cossacks occupy the country, the Czar's ministers say "Shuster must quit or war," and then Shuster, without army, without Cossacks, simply says, "I stand by my contract, and in America such things are respected." In the Persian is revived a spark of patriotism which has lain dormant for five hundred years and he says, "We stand by Shuster no matter what happens," and the English public, who when fully informed admire courage and fair play, are gradually getting behind Shuster.

The cable in this evening's papers is that the Russian Army has forced Persia to dismiss Shuster. It will do more than anything else to keep alive national spirit in Persia and win for her the sympathy of the world.

Now, my friends, how much have we changed? During the Revolutionary War the Duke de Lauzun arrived in Lebanon, Connecticut, with his Hussars, a brilliant company composed of young French noblemen. His Lieutenants were the Marquis de Chastellux and the Baron de Montesquieu. It

was the home of Governor Trumbull. They were there for months. The Yankee girls got up for them picnics, sleigh rides, toboggan slides, skating and every form of New England amusement. The French noblemen enjoyed every minute of it intensely, except that at the banquets Governor Trumbull, according to the Puritan custom, insisted on a half hour of grace before meat. The curious thing about it all is that though these young Frenchmen were the most attractive men of their time and in brilliant uniform and made love as the Yankee never could have done, they did not capture a single American girl. These Yankee girls had only one absorbing idea and that was the success of the revolution and the formation of the Republic, and they became the mothers of the future governors and legislators and congressmen and judges of New England and of the country. The only difference if conditions were reversed to our time would be that the entertainments would have a different style and be equally enjoyable, but the girls would marry the noblemen. At the same time Sheldon's cavalry passed through Litchfield, Connecticut, on its way to join General Washington. The Reverend Judah Champion immediately opened the Litchfield Church and invited the cavalry in and offered a prayer which he was so proud of that he recorded it in the register. It is too long to repeat entire, but I will give you its spirit. At that time General Howe was on the ocean with reinforcements for General Clinton in New York. The minister petitioned:

Oh! Lord, we view with terror and dismay the enemies of Thy holy religion. Wilt Thou send storm and tempest to toss them upon the sea and to overwhelm them in the mighty deep and scatter them to the uttermost parts of the earth! But, peradventure, should any escape Thy vengeance, collect them again together, Oh! Lord, as in the bottom of Thy hand, and let Thy lightnings play upon them. We beseech Thee, moreover, that Thou do gird up the loins of these, Thy servants, who are going forth to fight Thy battles. Make them strong men, that one shall chase a thousand, two shall put ten thousand to flight!

If conditions should be the same in our time would our clergy repeat that prayer? I think not. Instead they might

have the same feeling, but they would pray for speedy and honorable peace and a recognition of the efforts of the Red Cross Society.

Gentlemen, to-night the old and the new, the founders and the descendants, commune together. We differ only from our ancestors in the changed conditions of the times, but, happily for the country, for its present and its future, the ideas of the Pilgrims are still a constructive force in American progress. The schoolhouse and the church are not yet divorced, but they go together wherever American citizens settle and organize communities. We welcome the stranger fleeing from oppression as our fathers did, but now with the government land exhausted and our population increasing we ask that the barriers be raised higher and higher that there may be no contamination of American citizenship.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Annual Dinner of the Society of the
Genesee, at the Hotel Knickerbocker, New
York City, on Saturday Evening, January
20, 1912.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: This meeting with the Society of the Genesee is charming both in its relations to the present and the past. In my own varied experience I have found that more pleasure can be had out of a political stump-ing tour than from any other exercises. For years it was my habit to take my vacation in this way, and start out to inter-view and inform my fellow citizens of my views of the policies necessary for the safety of the country from the early autumn until the frost was on the pumpkin. Sometimes indeed I have spoken in the early morning to a crowd gathered about the platform of the car in the biting air of Northern New York, with the snow beating upon us all. It was not cold enough, however, to equal the experience of one of Charles Lever's stories who, in making a speech to his shipmates and to the Esquimaux, found that his words froze and fell upon the ground as they were uttered until he stood up to his chin in a bank of his own eloquence.

But the great value of this contact with the people is the knowledge it gives one of the varying conditions in his State of the different ideas of hospitality and conditions in the commonwealth. It is the best school in the world to study human nature. I have been a guest on these trips in the palatial home of the banker and the manufacturer, in the farm house of the farmer and the cottage of the artisan, the hos-pitality of each making the welcome just as agreeable and the hospitality just as enjoyable in one place as the other. It is these trips, continued at intervals for half a century, which have made me believe that the most delightful section through which to travel is the Genesee Valley. There is a finish about its farms; there is a comfort about its homes; there is a gen-eral air of contentment and prosperity which is full of inspira-tion. There is a genuineness in its hospitality which leaves

the stump speaker with delightful recollections of people who have entertained him which he rejoices to recall and can never forget.

But, then, every section of the State has its peculiarities and subjects in which it is most interested. Along the northern counties, it is politics; by the Hudson, it is scenery and land speculation; through the Mohawk Valley, it is manufactures; along the southern tier, it is politics again, but in the Genesee Valley when the public exercises are over and the intimate conversation occurs between the close of the meeting and retiring to bed it is generally the old families of the neighborhood. I became familiar with the characteristics, peculiarities, distinguishing traits and achievements of all the pioneer families of the Genesee Valley, and the narrator always claimed to be one of them. The idea of old families which has furnished so much material for the reformer and the jester is that the best of them is below ground. This, however, applies in no respect to the old families of Western New York. A royal personage once said to me, "I am told in regard to your countrymen and countrywomen that I may recognize these because of their family and others must be barred because they have no family. Families with us date away back to early historical times from achievements in arms, from domains won by valor, from leaders of the crusades and from an unbroken ancestry of nobility running back hundreds of years before the discovery of America, while for the life of me I cannot make any distinction among you Americans, except to the extent to which you are companionable and agreeable. On that basis I love to meet and to entertain your countrymen and countrywomen and enjoy their talent, their wit, their humor, their conversational power, the agreeableness of your men and the charm of your women." But there is an old family distinction with us of which we may be proud. It is of the pioneers who settled among the Indian confederacy of the Six Nations and carved out of the wilderness the estates which by their energy and ability they turned into productive farms which added to the wealth and prosperity of the commonwealth. With them the rule of three generations from shirt-sleeve to shirt-sleeve did not prevail. They reared large families of energetic sons

and of spirited and fascinating daughters. While some remained upon the farms, others built up the cities and the villages, developed the water powers and created manufactories or went into the professions and became ministers, doctors, lawyers, judges, journalists, legislators and members of Congresses and the Cabinets of Presidents.

I remember being entertained by the local banker in one of these charming places along the Genesee nearly fifty years ago. His conversation was of these pioneer families. He said, "One of the leaders recently died and it is a great loss to our community." He was original in every way and his originality was one of the sources of his great success. I went in to see a widow of another one of these pioneers, and she commenced lamenting the loss of her friend. She said, "You do not know how I miss him now that nearly every one of the people with whom I was intimate are dead and gone. He used to come in here nearly every evening and place his chair in front of the fireplace and put his feet on the mantelpiece and light his pipe and talk and sleep and snore and be so sociable."

But what would the Genesee Valley be without its capital at Rochester, in many respects the most beautiful city in the world? The sons and daughters of these pioneers, who had been brought up with plenty of fresh air upon the farm when they established their homes at Rochester, made that city unique in so laying out their lots and building their houses that there was land and a garden about each residence. "The city in the country, and the country in the city" is the evidence of the genius of the founders of Rochester. I always loved in these campaign excursions to wind up in your city. There was something about the dinner beforehand, with the leading men of all parties, in the responsiveness of the audience and in the reception and the supper afterward which made the entertainment the crowning event of the campaign.

The natural pride of the Rochester citizens is always delightful. I remember as we stood on the bank of the gorge where the Genesee flows, when it flows, that the local enthusiast said, "Here is a gorge finer than Niagara. Here is a waterfall of greater height than Niagara. It would in all respects be superior to Niagara if it had water." This re-

minded me of a story which was told me by that most delightful of wits and raconteurs, the late Mr. William M. Evarts. He said that stopping at Cape Cod one summer the guests were always complaining of the fishy flavor of the ducks, and the indignant landlord finally said, "Ladies and gentlemen, the Cape Cod duck is a finer duck than the canvasback; its plumage is handsomer; it weighs more; it can fly higher; it can dive deeper, and it would taste just as good if it would eat the wild celery, but, damn him, he won't eat it."

It is the habit of the young graduate to take Rome for his comparisons in all civic addresses. So, what is the difference between Rome, New York, and Rochester? It took ancient Rome five hundred years to annex Attica, to conquer Palmyra and lead her Queen Zenobia at the chariot wheels of the Emperor, to have its legions tramp over the plains of Ilion and to make contributory to its greatness Syracuse and Utica. Ancient Rome made these conquests by the sacrifice of millions of lives and slaughter and devastation which make the most ghastly volumes of history, but Rochester has, within fifty years almost, by methods of peace and regeneration, drawn to her marts of trade and her centers of commerce the production and the citizens of Attica and Palmyra and Ilion, and even drawn from the commercial walls which surround Syracuse and Utica a part of their commerce and their trade and annexed to her triumphal car even Rome itself. Happily the engineer who surveyed the wilderness of western New York was a classical scholar. He saw in imagination the glories of the ancient world reproduced in America. So he dotted his map with these classic names for future cities, and they are all within a hundred miles of Rochester.

Rochester has a distinct connection with my relations to one of the episodes and tragedies of American public life. I allude to the candidacy and the tragic death of Horace Greeley. I had retired from politics in 1872 with the determination to make up in my profession what I had lost in office when Mr. Greeley, who was my neighbor in the country, came one night to my house. He said, "Chauncey, I have been nominated for President by the Liberal Republicans. I cannot win

except I get the indorsement of the Democrats. I am told that if I can demonstrate, which I believe to be true, that the majority of the Republican party is with me, that then I will receive the Democratic indorsement and will be elected President by the largest vote ever cast since Washington. In order to demonstrate my Republican following, my friends have organized a mass meeting at Rochester which they say will be entirely Republican, and will include all the leaders of that overwhelmingly Republican section of our State, Western New York. Now, it is necessary to have a speaker of State and National reputation, and they have selected you." "Well," I said, "Mr. Greeley, I have retired from politics; besides, it goes tremendously against me to break with my party, and I never have done it." He said, "Chauncey, I have supported you every time you were elected to the Legislature and while there and while Secretary of State and in all your ambitions with all my strength in the *Tribune*, and I did not think I would be treated in this way." That was too much for me. I said, "Very well, Mr. Greeley, I will go." The meeting was held in that auditorium with the best acoustics in the country, Corinthian Hall. The crowds jammed the streets for blocks. The meeting was presided over by Judge Henry R. Selden of the Court of Appeals, one of the best loved Republicans in our commonwealth. There were a hundred Vice-Presidents and a hundred Secretaries whom I had met in every campaign since '56 as the Republican leaders in all the counties in Western New York. The meeting was such a phenomenal success that Mr. Greeley's friends secured without trouble the Democratic indorsement for his nomination as a Liberal Republican. In October, North Carolina went Republican. In November, all of these men went back to their allegiance to the Republican candidate. General Grant was elected by the largest majority known up to that period. That was the first progressive movement in the great parties of our country since the organization of the government. History so frequently repeats itself that what happened once is most likely to occur again. I commend this instance to the cheerful consideration of our guest of honor here to-night, President Taft.

When I recall your attractive city, the exquisite beauty of

your valley, and particularly the homelikeness of your villages and farms, I wonder how so many of you escaped and came to New York. Is it the fascination of Wall Street, or the attractions of the Great White Way? I know from my own experience as a country boy that there is no escape once within the sphere of their influence, of the lure of the crowd and the lights of the Metropolis. But I think that you rather have come here upon philanthropic missions in order that the lambs of our city may be fed upon the invigorating fodder—the stocks and bonds—of your trolley, your water power and your electric light companies.

We are here of all politics, and of no politics, but as a retired statesman calmly surveying the field and holding the scales in equipoise for the present, I must say that it seems to me inexcusable cruelty that the peace-loving, distinguished and erudite college professor Woodrow Wilson should be assailed at the same time on either side by two of the most militant colonels in the country, Colonel Roosevelt and Colonel Bryan.

We are business men here to-night, away from its cares and responsibilities to dwell a while in imagination in our rural homes. As business men, without regards to politics, present or future, with the President of the United States here as the guest of honor, we can thank him for many things which he has done in the best interests of the country. Upon the tariff rests all our industries. Any disturbance of it is sure to lead to uncertainty and uncertainty ends in panics, and yet in the changing conditions of our industrial life, changes of the tariff are inevitable and must come. I have gone through one struggle in the Senate in tariff framing or tariff measure, and know that it is not a scientific revision of schedules but a game of chance and governed largely by the ability and the power of the various interests of the country. We can thank the President that in spite of the opposition of high protectionists and of free traders he has secured a Tariff Board of experts; that he has appointed such a board without regard to political associations or affiliations, and that now in the revision of the tariff we can have the recommendations of this expert commission upon different

schedules as the question arises instead of a general disturbance of the whole business of the country upon every item of manufacture and production. As business men we are interested in finance and currency. We know that millions are locked up in secret places in the homes of the people because they fear the banks, and there that currency becomes the prey of robbers and of fires. We know also that foreigners working here and not understanding our institutions transmit many more millions of currency a year to their homes. We can thank President Taft that by unremitting effort and against the objections of localities that want every dollar kept where it was produced he has secured the Postal Savings Banks, which will not only aid the people, but keep at the service of the government millions, mounting higher every year, which before were never available.

We have had upon the statute book for twenty years the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. It has received various interpretations. The lawyers could not agree upon it and business men were in doubt as to whether they were violating the law or living up to its requirements. With the ability of a great lawyer, with the calmness of a great judge, with the courage of a great executive, the President has forced through the courts to an ultimate decision from our highest tribunal an interpretation of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, which is practicable and sensible. Now business knows what it can do and what it cannot do, and business does not care so much what it is prevented from doing or what it is permitted to do so long as it knows the law. We of all parties can thank the President, also that in no respect has he shown so much that he is the President of the whole people as in the selections which he has made for that highest tribunal upon which depends more than in any other department of our government the strength and stability of our institutions and the prosperity of the country. I mean the Supreme Court. He has had the courage, because he was best fitted for the place, to make a Democrat and a Confederate soldier Chief Justice. He has had the courage and open-mindedness to place both Democrats and Republicans upon that bench, governed only by their qualifications and their ability to fill this great place.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Celebration of the Treaty of Peace
between France and the United States, made
February 6, 1778, being the First Treaty
Ever Made by the United States, on Tues-
day, February 6, 1912, at Café Martin, New
York City.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: It is characteristic of the dramatic gift peculiarly possessed by the French that you should gather here to-night to bridge the interval of one hundred and twenty-four years between 1778 and 1912. The interval comprises the best history of the world. It has contributed more to civil and religious liberty, to the elevation of peoples, to popular sovereignty, to advancement in the arts and sciences by invention and discovery, than all the preceding ages of recorded time.

For our purpose to-night, and I think legitimately for conclusions anywhere, the inception of this marvelous age can be traced to 1778. We touch the button, and the cinematograph begins to develop the figures of the immortals. There pass in review Washington and Lafayette, Rochambeau and General Greene, de Grasse and John Paul Jones, while standing beyond are the French Foreign Minister de Vergennes and Benjamin Franklin preparing the treaty which made possible the independence of the American Colonies and the creation of the Republic of the United States. We turn from the films of the cinematograph to the pages of history. All Europe at that time was governed by the principle of absolutism in the throne. While in the American Colonies the struggle for two years had been characterized by a succession of defeats for the patriots, the loss of the Atlantic seaboard, with New York and Philadelphia; the flight of the Continental Congress to sit first in one village and then another; the credit of the young nation hopelessly impaired, its currency worthless, its treasury empty, its munitions of war almost exhausted and the army under

Washington encamped at Valley Forge, the blood-stained tracks of the feet of the shoeless soldiers upon the snow illustrating the desperate state of affairs. While the victory at Saratoga the year before had helped us with many continental nations and had greatly encouraged our people, yet without assistance from abroad the revolution was practically ended. The story of nations as well as of individuals demonstrates that God in his infinite wisdom tries men by fire before trusting them with power. The trial had demonstrated the stuff of which our forefathers were made and showed that capacity for sacrifice without which there can be neither manhood nor patriotism. Said Lord North to Benjamin Franklin, our commissioner at that time in London, "How can so wise a man as you advise your countrymen to engage in this hopeless revolution when we have the power to burn down all your towns and destroy your industries?" Franklin answered, "My Lord, all I possess in the world is in houses in those towns. You can set fire to them and burn them to the ground to-morrow, and you will only strengthen my determination to advise my countrymen to fight if you continue in your present policy." That was the spirit which reached France and brought about the famous treaty of February, 1778. The effect of that treaty was extraordinary. The English Cabinet heard of it and immediately sent proposals of the most liberal kind to Governor Tryon of New York to be presented to the Continental Congress. The Governor sent them to General Washington with a request that they be presented to Congress and also placed in the hands of every soldier in the army. That was so transparent an effort to sap the patriotism of the Continental troops by the prospect of peace that Washington, confident on his side, wrote back to the Governor, "Every soldier has a copy of your proposition and Congress is considering it." Congress said to Washington, "What do you advise?" Washington's answer was characteristic: "No negotiations and no communications until the army and the fleet are withdrawn and our independence recognized." The treaty with France arrived and was immediately ratified by the Continental Congress. The French under Count de Grasse appeared in our waters and the French army, under Rochambeau, was soon afoot

on our land. Munitions of war were furnished and a credit supplied by France which brought the revolution to a successful close two years afterward.

Just now there is a wide spirit of agitation, fomented by flaming oratory, against leaders and organization. We are told that progress has been impeded, delayed and at times paralyzed by reliance at different periods upon so-called great men. There is nothing new under the sun. It is only another picture, suited to another period, by a twist of the kaleidoscope with the same old glass inside. We had in this very year, 1778, an experiment. It is known in history as the "Conway Cabal." It had its origin in hatred of the demonstrated superiority in every element of leadership of General Washington. It proposed to subject him to the referendum and recall. Its purpose was to put in his place General Gates and a staff composed of the malcontents. Gates, as was proven when subjected to trial, was a monumental egotist of showy but not substantial ability. The battle of Saratoga, which gave him his fame, had been won by the careful preparations of General Schuyler (who was removed by the machinations of Gates) and by the desperate bravery of Benedict Arnold. If the conspiracy had succeeded, and the referendum and the recall had removed Washington and put Gates and Conway and Lee in supreme charge, we would not be here to-night. But, happily, it failed, and the whole world now recognizes that there was one supreme leader who could have carried us safely through the revolution, and that was George Washington.

Our country has reached its present position of peace, power and happiness because trained statesmen have been deemed by our people to be better fitted to enact our laws with the deliberation, the study and experience which are the characteristics of representative government, than to have them made by the passion of the hour and the voice of the agitator willing to fire the Temple of Ephesus if it may lead to power and fame for himself.

But how came France, absolutely ruled by aristocratic power, to give assistance at this critical hour to a revolt against kingly authority? Again comes to the mind the man of born leadership. This time it is the man of ideas. No man con-

tributed so much to the creation of government as it is to-day as Jean Jacques Rousseau, a genius with marvelous gifts. His teachings proved that no matter how wonderful the power or attractive the presentation of false ideas—

“Truth crushed to earth shall rise again;
The eternal years of God are hers;
While error, wounded, writhes with pain,
And dies among its worshipers.”

Rousseau caught on to the questioning spirit of the age and presented atheism in more fascinating garb than ever before, but the resistless force of the truths of Christianity crushed his crusade. He brought all his powers to the propagation of the doctrine of free love and the lack of obligation in the marriage tie, but the eternal foundations of the family remained unchanged. He proclaimed the truth, then unknown and unrecognized, that government can exist only by consent of the governed. This was the dynamite which had lain dormant for ages. It led to the French Revolution, until it worked its way to the creation of republican France of to-day. The court of Louis, tired of frivolity and wearied of gayety, turned to this idea of Rousseau as a toy to give freshness to fagged intellects and interest to vapid conversation, but in many minds it found lodgment, even at the court, and sent Lafayette to the United States. But there was another figure whose presence, whose equipment, whose marvelous sense, helped beyond description Rousseau's idea at the court, and that was Benjamin Franklin. Printer, writer, statesman, Quaker, he is the most picturesque character of this period of revolution. The principle of non-resistance which lies at the foundation of the faith of the Quaker is often the most dangerous weapon of offense and defense. When Franklin, representing the colonies in London, was summoned before the Privy Council, Lord Widdeburne assailed him with abuse, ribaldry, and insult, which was received by the peers in the Privy Council with loud shouts of laughter and approval. Franklin, who had been doing wonderful service in the effort to reconcile the difference between the mother country and the colonies, and

had met every rebuff with explanation of the conditions existing in America, which turned out afterward to be true, felt that he had this time been pressed beyond endurance. Instead of fighting or giving insult for insult he simply remarked that he had just bought a court suit, but he had never put it on and he would never wear it until he felt assured of the absolute independence of the colonies. He went home and did more than any other man to bring the colonies together to act in unison for the creation of an independent government. He laid the suit away in camphor, but ten years afterward, when he had won the support of France, he wore it at the French court in celebration of the treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, which had just been signed and which assured the independence of the colonies.

Franklin was welcomed by the philosophers, then popular at court, because he was the discoverer of electricity and had brought lightning from the clouds. He was welcomed by the ladies of the court because, though seventy years of age, he was himself a dynamo of resistless attraction. The young wits made fun of him; the young litterateurs caricatured him; the fops made him the butt of their sallies at the suppers and over the wine, but found to their amazement that this man of three score and ten in the tournament of love had unhorsed them all, and all the women were anxious to receive from him the crown of love and beauty. Franklin, the printer's apprentice, found his reward and fame in his own time and, illustrating the dynamic power and resistless force of the idea which we are considering, Bunyan, the tinker, after more than a century, goes from Bedford Jail to Westminster Abbey.

Now, I said there was nothing new under the sun. The Continental Congress were so elated by the treaty and the arrival of the French forces by land and sea that they turned aside from the war measures which had been their sole occupation to send this message to the Legislatures of the several States, on October 12, 1778, advising them to take measures for the suppression of theatrical entertainments, horse racing, gaming and such other diversion as were producing dissipation and general depravity of principles and morals. It is needless to say none of the Legislatures acted upon this

advice. General Washington, after he retired from the Presidency, left Mount Vernon to attend a horse race at Philadelphia at which he had entered one of his blooded steeds. Theatrical entertainments are now more popular than ever, but gambling has been placed under the ban of the law, and, in our State, horse racing was abolished two years ago.

Another illustration: The movement for the emancipation of women, beginning in laws affecting their separate property in 1848, has continued until now, there is a wide and almost successful effort to grant them equal rights with men in the suffrage, in office holding, in jury duty, and, in Germany this year in militarism, and in every duty of the citizen. It was in this pregnant twelve months which constitute 1778 that at the Battle of Monmouth Molly Pitcher was carrying water to her husband, who was a gunner of a battery of one piece of artillery. He was killed and the lieutenant proposed to remove the piece out of danger, when Molly said, "I can do everything that my husband could," and she performed her husband's duties with that old gun better than he could have done. The next morning she was taken before General Washington, her wonderful act was reported and its influence upon the fate of the battle, which was a victory, and Washington made her at once a sergeant in the army to stand on the rolls in that rank as long as she lived.

Eloquence has been exhausted and poetry has received its finest inspiration in portraying the heroism of La Tour D'Auvergne, the first grenadier of France, who fell on his one hundredth battlefield, having won as a private soldier the title of the bravest of the brave. He won more—a decree that forever at the roll call his name should be called and a sergeant should step forward and say, "Dead upon the field of honor."

It seems appropriate now for us to place among the immortals and in the Hall of Fame this only woman sergeant of the United States Army who won her title fighting for her country upon the field of battle and who is the evangel of woman's rights and woman's enfranchisement.

Our celebration of this treaty here to-night, with the presence of the distinguished Ambassador of France, has its charm

and significance. But the first celebration of the treaty was more dramatic and more significant. Every American school-boy knows the story of the horrors of that winter of famine and of cold at Valley Forge. The spring and summer make of that beautiful valley a Paradise on earth. The treaty was ratified on the second of May by the Congress, and on the sixth it was celebrated at Valley Forge by the Continental Army with a grand banquet, the army having come out of the winter of despair into the bright sunshine not only of hope, but of certainty through the friendship of France. The feasts in those days began at twelve or three o'clock, and that for a century afterward was the dinner hour in the United States in the best circles. There were toasts and speeches. They could afford to waste ammunition in salute, because plenty was coming from France. At five o'clock Washington retired with his staff. The cheers followed him for a quarter of a mile and were frequently returned by the Commander-in-Chief and the officers wheeling about and responding with cheers. The words shouted by the army and the toasts of that day have, happily, been preserved. The first toast responded to with the wildest enthusiasm was "Long live the King of France," "Long live friendly European powers," "Huzza! for the American States," and then, the whole army rising, "Long live General Washington!"

There is a growing feeling in our country against the continuance of ambassadors and ministers abroad. It is alleged that with the cable all critical matters are discussed and settled between the foreign ministers of the several countries without the intervention of our representatives. I do not think that ambassadors will ever be abolished. The impersonal can never take the place of the personal. Everything in the end comes back to the man and his fitness for the particular duty which he has assigned to him. The ambassador is the representative not only of his government but of his people. He has the power, and if he possesses the ability, he promotes as the cold type of the formal message never could, friendship and good fellowship between the people of his country and the people of the country to which he is accredited. The ambassador generally represents his period in his own land. In

Washington's time France sent here Citizen Genet; in our day, Ambassador Jusserand. Citizen Genet represented the spirit of the terror in the French Revolution. He proceeded to stir up the country by speeches at banquets and town meetings in favor of an alliance with France against Great Britain in the long journey that he made before he arrived at Philadelphia and presented his credentials. He demanded of Washington an alliance, offensive and defensive, and a declaration of war against Great Britain. Washington saw that such an act at that time, with France fully engaged in a battle with all Europe, would only lead to forces coming over from Canada and ships entering our ports when our young Republic had no money, very little credit and had been exhausted by the Revolutionary War. But the memory of the friendship of France stirred up popular enthusiasm for Citizen Genet's proposition. When he found Washington could not be moved, he tried a referendum to the American people and a recall. If at that time these two propositions had been in existence there is no doubt but what by an enormous majority war would have been declared against England, an alliance would have been made with the leaders of the French Revolution and Washington would have been recalled from the presidency, and the most violent of men placed in the presidential chair. However, the referendum and recall had not then materialized into laws and Washington summarily dismissed the minister by demanding his immediate recall. Within six months the whole country, with greater unanimity even, had recovered from the craze which Citizen Genet had created and stood solidly behind the policy of General Washington.

A century and a quarter have passed and the French Republic has here again a citizen who represents the genius of the institutions of his country, the aspirations of his people and their sentiments toward us. He carries his mission to the President. If he succeeds both nations rejoice. If he fails, he has not attempted to recall by a referendum either Roosevelt or Taft. But his failures are only delays. In the end he always wins. Writing histories in English which become classics of our literature, and speaking in our tongue, with the eloquence, aptness and finish which make his addresses a model for the

American student, Ambassador Jusserand is that happy combination which is the supremest result of gifted diplomacy—an American in America and yet always a Frenchman.

A living memorial of President Taft's administration will be the arbitration treaties he so happily conceived. For their acceptance the President has had no more efficient co-worker than the French Ambassador.

Gentlemen, may it be the good fortune of France and the United States to always have at Washington such an Ambassador. May this celebration inaugurated here to-night be followed by the passage by the Senate of the treaty of perpetual arbitration with France, and may this day find happy expression in public celebrations for all the future both in France and the United States.

(Stenographically Reported)

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Twenty-sixth Annual Lincoln Dinner
of the Republican Club of the City of New
York, in Commemoration of the Birth of
Abraham Lincoln, at the Waldorf-Astoria,
February 12, 1912.

MR. BANNARD, President of the Club: About four hours ago I was informed that both General Wood and Colonel Goethals had been detained in Washington by the Committee on Military Affairs, and could not possibly be with us. You can imagine what I did. I rang up a certain gentleman than whom no one is better known in the United States, and told him that our mortality of speakers was forty per cent. I threw myself on his neck, so far as the telephone would permit (laughter), and when he said he would consider it, I could have hugged him, if the telephone had indulged me. I shall be his friend for life, and I want to introduce the best speaker in the world, and I will give you just one guess as to who it is. Senator Depew. (Great cheers and applause.)

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

Mr. President, for a man who congratulated himself that he was going to attend a dinner and hear the President and great orators, that he had no responsibilities, that he should enjoy what was offered, both in the solid and fluid, without stint, when he is sitting preliminary to that, alongside of his wife as she is taking her tea at six o'clock, to receive a telephone message like the one which has just been reported by our presiding officer to speak within an hour in the place of two of the most distinguished men in the country, is enough to disturb a nervous man. (Laughter.)

General Garfield once said to me, "You cannot take too many chances without hurting your reputation." (Laughter.)

"No man who has made a reputation should attempt to speak unless he has been notified long before and had ample opportunity for preparation, and some day, if you keep this up, you will make a speech, on a short call, and the failure of it will be so phenomenal that it will end the reputation of a lifetime." (Laughter.) Remembering that, last summer I called a classmate of mine, and he compiled eight volumes of my speeches, and so I can say, as did Daniel Webster, or somebody else—I don't remember who—"The past, at least, is secure." (Great laughter and applause.)

When a man speaks extemporaneously, he is apt to be apologizing for it for some time afterwards. There have been distinguished examples of that in our recent history. (Laughter.) I remember the charming lady who was doing the best she could, distributing tracts before she got on the platform to speak, and in handing one to a cabbie, he said to her, "Excuse me, Miss, I am happily married, and I don't believe in divorce"; and the tract was "Abide with me." (Great laughter.)

I was pleased with the speech of our President, Mr. Bannard, in which, after complimenting everybody who came here to this entertainment, he said that "without the inspiration of the woman, where would we be?" Look at him, look at him, at his time of life, and he is not married yet! (Laughter and applause.)

Now, an occasion like this necessarily leads to a comparison between the past and the present. The first speech I ever heard Mr. Lincoln make, was the one that he did not make. It was at Peekskill. (Laughter.) The whole population had gathered for the ten minutes in which he was to address us on his way to Washington. The local celebrity, who had been in Congress with him, represented the people for the welcoming speech, and before the welcoming speech was concluded, the train moved off with Mr. Lincoln laughing.

In 1864, there devolved upon me, as Secretary of State, the duty of collecting soldiers' votes, because the Legislature was Republican, and the Governor, Horatio Seymour, was a Democrat, and so they didn't give it to the Governor. I

stayed three months in Washington, and Stanton, Secretary of War, refused to give me the information necessary to reach the New York soldiers in the field with ballots. New York had over 300,000 soldiers scattered over the South. In great rage, after being roughly turned down by Stanton, I was going out of the War Office one afternoon, when I met Elihu B. Washburn, who at that time was the special representative and most intimate friend of Mr. Lincoln. I told him what was the matter, and he said, "What are you going to do?" I said, "I have got to clear my own skirts. I am going to New York to publish in the papers that the administration will not give me the localities where the New York troops are, and so they cannot vote." He said, "Look here, Depew, that beats Lincoln." "Well," I said, "then give me the voters' addresses." He said, "You don't know Abe. He is a great President, but he is also a great politician, and if there was no other way of getting those votes, he would go around with a carpet bag, and collect them himself." (Laughter.) Within an hour I was summoned into the presence of a changed Secretary of War, so polite that I didn't know him, and on the midnight train I went off with the locations of the troops. The cause of this quick transformation was the sudden appearance of the President in the War Office with a message so emphatic that the roaring Lion became the most serviceable of Lambs.

There has been much criticism about a President working, while he is in office, for reelection, but here is the example, after fifty years, of the man whom we are celebrating here to-night, who would have gone around with a carpet bag to collect the votes if there was no other way of getting them. And I am sure our President, Mr. Taft, is justified in doing what he can in that line, as he did so magnificently in his speech here to-night. (Great applause.) It certainly is dramatic for one who has that recollection of the year preceding the presidential election of Mr. Lincoln, to again, nearly fifty years afterwards, be in the hall with a President, the year before his reelection (great applause), with the conditions virtually unchanged. It reminds me that possibly nothing changes in this world. Certainly, in my long experience in

public life, I have found that nothing changes in the fundamentals; the change is only in the scenery, the surroundings, and the dramatic effect.

We celebrated in December, the landing of the *Mayflower*. Why? Because, in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, was enunciated that charter which first gave the principle of equality of all men before the law. We celebrated here, this last week, the first treaty ever made by the United States, the treaty with France which gave to us Lafayette, Rochambeau, and DeGraff, and the French army and the French navy, and the credit and munitions of war, which enabled us to win our independence. We celebrate to-night Mr. Lincoln and his administration of fifty years ago, and we will celebrate, on the twenty-second of this month, Washington's Birthday, with all that it means. Last summer I was in France, and I went out one Sunday to Versailles, where all Paris goes, and I accompanied the crowd as they walked through that marvelous palace of Louis XIV, and as they paused in the rooms, full of memories of Napoleon, the Empress Josephine, and Marie Antoinette. What struck me more than anything else, accustomed as I have been, all my life, to go to historic places in America where there was enthusiasm and reverence, was that those people went by as sightseers and tourists, because Versailles, with its memories of the Bourbon kings, and Napoleon, of an absolute autocracy, and an empire, conveyed nothing to them. Their memories were only of the thirty-odd years of the republic.

But we are what we are to-day because of our traditions, and our traditions never change: the traditions of equality before the law enunciated in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, the traditions of the Declaration of Independence in Independence Hall, the traditions of Washington and what he stood for and what he accomplished, and to-night, the traditions of what Lincoln stood for. We are here now as a Republican club, and Lincoln was a Republican President. All sides of him have been superbly presented. The tribute which President Taft paid was finely said and deserved, that he was the President of all parties; and that beautiful tribute, so eloquent and appreciative, by the orator of the evening,

as to Lincoln's characteristics, from a Southern man, was equally deserved. But Lincoln was a partisan, and a Republican. We are here to-night as partisans and Republicans, most of us.

Lincoln stood for what? For the question of his day. Have they changed? They have changed only in form. We have not the slave labor question any longer, but we have labor questions which are to be decided upon broad principles, as Lincoln would have decided them if they had arisen in his time. He had to provide revenue for the purpose of supporting the army and navy and carrying on the Government. He had to develop the resources of the country which would support the people here, if we won, and while we were fighting. Now, what did he do? He inaugurated and carried through the most drastic measure of protection of American industries that any President ever suggested. It was full protection, not so high but that it furnished revenue, and yet high enough to cause the development of one industry after another, and to continue to the laboring man of this country that measure of wage which makes him more independent, and with greater possibilities and hopefulness than ever existed before in any country in the world. (Applause.)

We come down to our own time, and we have meeting us, and meeting President Taft, very much the same things that met Lincoln, so far as the fundamentals are concerned, or the principles upon which we fight. And I want to say, as a veteran campaigner who has stumped this country for different Presidents for fifty-six years (applause), that the speech of forty minutes made here to-night by President Taft will be the text-book of the campaign. We will all copy from it, we will all take texts from it, and we will make the welkin ring all over the country with the achievements of the Taft Administration which it merits and the promises it contains, and if it results, as it ought to, in his election next November, we will say, "Taft, you did it!" (Great cheers and applause, and cries of "Hear, hear!")

I was reading to-night in an English paper the speech made by Shuster in London (applause), and it was a renewal of faith in the great principles for which Lincoln

stood, for which Washington stood, and for which every statesman in America who is successful must stand. He says, in effect, "I went to Persia, commissioned to put her finances in order. I found universal corruption. I found the money was ample, but it was all diverted to the personal use of grafters, from royalty down. I said to the first constituent assembly, elected by the people, that Persia ever had in all her history, from the time of Cyrus the Great, 'Will you give me power to do as I have a mind to?' And they said, 'Yes' unanimously." "Then," he said, "I found there was money enough for all purposes, and I began to collect it, and to apply it to the legitimate purposes of the resurrection of Persia, so that she could stand upon her liberal principles, and go ahead, when Russian suddenly said, 'That is not what you are here for; what we want is demoralization and bankruptcy, because that is our opportunity to seize Persia.'"

Well, my friends, contrast that with the principles that have been at the bottom of American policies in treating with other countries. Contrast it with our treatment of the Philippines, of Cuba, of Hawaii, contrast it with what we did when one of the greatest of our secretaries of state, our own club member, Elihu Root, made his famous visit, as Secretary of State, to the Southern Republics. (Applause.)

Somebody says—I don't know who; Governor Black, with his marvelous memory will recall it—that there will never be anything but war tumult and revolution south of the Gulf of Mexico, but the policy of the American Government, under Roosevelt, and under Taft, is giving to those American republics on the Isthmus and in South America, greater stability than ever before, because we stand behind them and say, "We don't want your territory, we don't want an inch of your land, we don't want any influence with you except to protect you under the Monroe Doctrine, but what we do demand is that you shall work out your own salvation on the eternal principles of our Declaration of Independence and of the charter of equal laws of the *Mayflower* and due regard for your international obligations." (Applause.) And that is dollar diplomacy!

Lincoln was President fifty years ago; Taft is President to-night. Lincoln was a candidate for reëlection fifty years ago; Taft to-night is a candidate for reëlection. What is the difference between the two men? Mr. Taft is the product of the school and the college. He is the product of the best culture America can give. He is the product of the training which has given him that judicial mind which has enabled him to decide more questions than almost any other President in my time, and decide them right; which has enabled him to present more constructive and progressive legislation, and secure it, than most Presidents, and yet, as a scholar and a judge, he lacks the faculty of advertisement and a brass band. (Laughter and applause.) If he had those two qualities, he would be resistless. Every dead wall in the country, and every farmer's fence, and every home, would be filled with pictures and flaming eloquence which would indicate that the salvation of every man, woman and child, had been secured, built up and riveted, and with another term would be fenced in and whitewashed over head, and nothing more could be done by any human being. (Laughter.)

We come to Lincoln. He was a different man. No one in any country ever started life so unpromisingly as Abraham Lincoln. Nothing equals the poverty and hopelessness of a poor white cabin in the South, and especially at that time. And yet he came out of that, for there was in him the wonderful genius which nobody can account for. You can't account for Milton or Shakespeare. You can't account for Lincoln. The first books he got hold of, he read over and over. First was the Bible, next "Pilgrim's Progress," and next "Æsop's Fables," and next Weem's "Life of Washington." Those made him a story teller, because Weem's "Life of Washington" has probably within its pages more stories that never happened to Washington, than any book ever written. (Laughter.) In Weem's "Life of Washington," you find the cherry tree story, and nowhere else. (Laughter.) And yet that lie has done infinite good to all the youths of the country (laughter), because it was a fundamental lie in the defense of the truth. "Æsop's Fables" furnished him with stories. I found out this about Lincoln, that he never argued anything. He sim-

ply told a story, or else cracked a joke, but it met the thing on all fours, so that if you were on the opposite side, you had nothing to say. (Laughter.) My old friend, John Ganson, the ablest lawyer we had in Western New York, was a war Democrat, and he supported Mr. Lincoln. He was a fine looking, very dignified man, with a very impressive appearance and way of talking, and he had not a spear of hair on his head or anywhere about his face. He went up one day, he told me, to Mr. Lincoln, when things looked very bad at the front, and everybody was discouraged, and he said, "Mr. President, you know, sir, that I am a war Democrat. I am leaving my party to support your measures, because I believe in the country first and the party next. Now, things look very bad at the front, and I think, with this relation to you and your administration, I ought to know just how things are. How are they, sir?" Mr. Lincoln looked at him for a minute, and then said, in his quizzical way, "Ganson, how clean you shave!" (Great laughter.) There was a party of New York financiers who went down to Washington, and the New York financier is a mighty able man—in Wall Street. But he sees the present, and he wants to provide for that. The financial situation was frightful, because gold was so reduced in volume and at an unprecedented premium. They said: "Mr. President, we are here representing the financial interests in the financial center of the country, and we think that the best thing to do is to take the gold out of the treasury and give it to the people." But Mr. Lincoln knew that what little gold there was in the treasury was all the basis the country had for its credit, and the enormous volume of paper currency which had been put out. Did he argue that question with those financiers? No, he knew they would beat him out of sight in an argument, but he said to them: "Gentlemen, out in Illinois, when I was practicing law, the farmers were troubled because of a disease among the hogs that was carrying them off and likely to destroy the whole of that industry. Someone suggested that the way to cure the hogs was to cut off their tails. So they cut them off, and they were cured. The next year the same disease came back, but they all died because they had no tails." (Great laughter and applause.)

No man recovers from his environment and the influences of his birth, and the associations of his childhood, no matter how great may be his opportunities afterwards, no matter how wonderful the culture that has come to him, nor how supreme his ability to take advantage of them. The environment of his humble home will always cling to him, and always be in evidence. Lincoln passed the whole of that formative period of his life among a frontier people. He had singular and original experiences. He loved to be down at the country store, or the bar room of the village tavern, although he never drank, and there exchange stories and listen to stories among those adventurous and original people. That bar room was the neighborhood club in those days. He loved to go around the circuit, and when they reached the country towns, they all stopped at the same hotel, and they stayed up all night—the judge and the lawyers and the witnesses, and the grand and petit jury men—swapping these experiences. I asked him once, “Where do you get so many stories?” And he told me that it was in this way that I have just described. So he got into the habit, much to the disgust of Chase, who was a “turvy drop,” and of other people around him, of meeting questions with these stories, most of which are not in print. (Laughter.)

On the other side, there was another Lincoln formed on his daily reading of the Bible, which he knew by heart, and Bunyan’s “Pilgrim’s Progress,” which he knew by heart. The English language, in its noblest form as it is to-day, has been formed by the King James version of the English Bible. It has been literature, pure and undefiled, which has given to our writers, in the English tongue, their distinction, and inspiration. That formed Lincoln’s style. It also formed the basis from which he built up those principles of eternal truth which led to the Emancipation Proclamation, which led also to his infinite charity, which would have eradicated many evils had he lived to go through his second term. It was the education from this foundation which gave to the world those two imperishable productions, that oration which will live forever, the Gettysburg speech, and that finest State paper ever written by a President, and which never can be copied, Lincoln’s second inaugural address. (Great applause.)

SPEECH BY HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Celebration by the New York State
Society of the Cincinnati of the One Hun-
dred and Eightieth Birthday of George
Washington, at the Waldorf-Astoria, Feb-
ruary 22, 1912.

COMRADES OF THE CINCINNATI: It is eminently fitting that this Society should celebrate the birthday of its founder, General George Washington. One hundred and eighty years have passed since his birth. The story of that century and three-quarters, or at least the last century of it, is the most illuminating and inspiring cycle of recorded time. It is our pride and satisfaction as Americans that to marvelous development, uplift and progress of civil and religious liberty in this century no one contributed so much as George Washington.

It is a happy result of the continuance of this patriotic order that there has been a revival of the study of the origin of our institutions, of the formation of the Republic and of the lives and characters of the founders.

There are many other patriotic societies celebrating this day who have come into existence within the last half century, and who are doing admirable work in the education of the citizen by furnishing him with the inspirations of the past. In my close connection for many years with education, as Regent of the University of the State of New York for thirty years, and a member of the Corporation of Yale University for twelve years, I have been deeply interested in the work of the common schools, academies and colleges. I have found that one great defect is in the inadequate attention given to American history. Many of the wild theories, which now attract the young and in the guise of reform seem to promise far better results than any which have been secured in the past, would never have taken such hold upon the imagination if there had been careful and systematic instruction in the history of our Republic and of the principles which lay at its foundation. I

doubt if the majority in any high school or college of the country, if called upon on this day to pass an examination upon the life, character and achievements of General Washington, or Hamilton, or Jefferson, or Madison, could succeed. I doubt if even a small minority know that in those early days and during the experimental stage, questions of Federal authority, State rights, checks to prevent hasty and ill-considered action, of independence of the courts, and of representative government, were all thrashed out.

To-night fashionable society is having many balls and dances because this is a national holiday. General Washington was exceedingly fond of dancing, and was noted as being the most expert and graceful dancer of his day, but he knew nothing of the "Turkey Trot" or the "Bunny Hug" or the "Grizzly Bear." If these young people should be asked at the supper what is the significance of this day and what the place of General Washington in history, I doubt if they would be able to respond. They would return to the "Turkey Trot."

A very brilliant and highly cultured and traveled young woman said to me, "Why bother about those old times and the great people of that day? What they did is of no interest to us, though undoubtedly it was important then. I have no use for the ancients."

It is the distinction of the Society of the Cincinnati that it has lived with content and satisfaction for nearly two hundred years without being disturbed in its organization by the cataclysms which have occurred during that long period. Politics have never entered its councils, nor have religious factions or disputes disturbed its membership. It has lived through and survived every Presidency in our history.

It has become the fashion now for men distinguished in any department of life before they die to write their autobiographies or print their diaries. If the recorder of the Cincinnati had kept a close diary of the inner councils of each Presidential administration, beginning with Washington, and the troubles in their cabinets, it would be a wonderful contribution to the history of the times. As the past recedes and the men and events grow more dim, we need this personal revelation to show the supreme authority exercised for the

creation and afterward for the salvation of the young Republic until it was put upon a firm basis by George Washington. The value of such a contribution is brought emphatically to our attention by the diary of Gideon Welles, who was a member of President Lincoln's Cabinet. It was my fortune to be officially in Washington during much of the Lincoln Administration and to know of the gossip which filtered from the White House as to the motives and ambitions of the President's official family. There are few now living who had the opportunity or who knew any of these events, but here from the pen of this hard-headed Yankee who had but one ambition, and that was to serve his chief and save the country, comes a diary written day by day, showing the intrigues for power, for influence with the President, for replacing him for their own ambitions, for succession among the members of his cabinet. The great value of the revelation is that while these great men were most efficient in their several departments of the State and Foreign Affairs, or the Treasury and Finance, or War, or the Navy, or the Post Office, they were bitterly antagonistic to each other. But they were compelled to use their great abilities in their several ways for the government and its salvation. They were compelled to suppress and keep under cover their machinations and their conspiracies against each other and against their chief, and they presented a united front to the enemy on the one hand and the country on the other because of the tact, the diplomacy, the genius and the magnetic power of Abraham Lincoln.

We know that Washington, the soldier, was the only one of the generals of the time who could have carried on successfully the Revolutionary War, and so he was "The Father of his Country." We know that in the trials and experiments of bringing a confederacy of independent governments into a federation of sovereign states, and yet with supreme power in the Federal Government, no man and no combination of men had so much influence as General Washington. We know that in securing the ratification of the Constitution, framed by a convention of the several States, he used with wonderful effect the officers and soldiers of his army who were prominent citizens in their several States and who had taken the oath of

the Society of the Cincinnati to preserve and perpetuate the Union. We know that during his eight years as President only his commanding influence and courage with the people, who knew that he was serving them and longing for the opportunity to retire to private life, prevented our young Republic becoming an ally of the French Revolution and involved in a war with all Europe when we had neither credit, nor money, nor arms. We all know that except for his commanding influence the revolutions which were started in various States would have culminated into a dissolution of the Union. We all know that at the end of eight years he, and he alone, had so consolidated our institutions that they could be entrusted safely to other hands because behind the politicians were the people, educated to the benefits of government, of the Constitution and the laws. Now, this could have been brought out much more clearly if there had been a Gideon Welles in the cabinet of General Washington. The two ablest men, the greatest rivals and bitterest enemies of that period, were members of his official family, Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. Each represented antagonistic views of government. Each had tremendous following among the people, but they worked together and subordinated their views to the general good, and how they did it is left to the imagination. And yet it requires no diary of a member of that cabinet; it requires no stretch of the imagination to draw from the records of the times, meager as they are in this respect, the daily story of Washington and his official family. We can see towering above them all the great master builder, keeping each in his place and performing the work for which he was fitted beyond all other men in the country, and at the same time making it impossible for their individual jealousies and ambitions to disturb the creative and consolidating work of their chief.

Now, gentlemen, nothing more astonishes the careful reader of history than the few men who have controlled the destinies of nations and of mankind. Julius Caesar came into power when wealth and corruption had so undermined the Republic and enervated its virility that its dissolution into its original elements with universal warfare was imminent. By the creation of imperial authority he kept together that empire

for a thousand years. Outside its boundaries travel was impossible; within its boundaries there was Roman law and protection on the highway. This made possible the dissemination of Christianity through the whole Roman world, an event which would have been impossible under the old savage relations of contiguous nations, and this made possible modern Christendom.

The French Revolution would have failed except for the genius of Napoleon. His aims were not republican, nor the dissemination of liberty, but in the name of liberty he overthrew thrones and spread liberal ideas and overturned nearly all autocracy and absolutism and despotism except his own. Waterloo ended him but placed no barrier to the progress of Democracy. England, with a Parliamentary government more quickly responsive to the people than any in the world, France a republic, all other European nations with a Parliament, and most of them a responsible ministry, Turkey and ancient Persia feeling the thrill of these ideas, are all the results of the work, genius, conquests and triumphs of Napoleon. So, for liberty, as we understand it, and as we enjoy it, the absolute sovereignty of the people, the equality of all men before the law, the freedom of opportunity for every child, all these are due to the character, courage, unselfish patriotism and genius of George Washington. Cæsar was inspired by ambition, Napoleon by craze for power—both utterly selfish. Washington's labors were for his country. In the purity of his motive he stands the foremost man of all the centuries.

We have problems which seem to us full of peril, but they are not so difficult as those which he successfully solved. We are passing through an acute struggle, common not only to us, but to the whole world, between labor and capital. We have greater general prosperity, a higher standard of living and more universal conditions of comfort than has ever existed among any people, or our own people before, and yet there never was such a wide-spread spirit of unrest. We are entering upon a presidential election, and the different candidates are presenting to us their methods for solving these difficulties and allaying this unrest. In the meantime, business halts, enterprises are suspended and the movement of the mighty forces

which give employment and opportunity is checked. Frequently I hear a cry of anger and despair. Gentlemen, so long as we can celebrate in proper spirit the birthday of General Washington, so long as we can read and re-read his Farewell Address, so long as we can remember and cherish the memory of Abraham Lincoln, so long as we can repeat his Gettysburg speech and his second inaugural, there will come into the Presidency and into the Cabinet, and into Congress, and into the courts, the wisdom which has guided us marvelously in the past and will surely take care of us in the future.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

at the Dinner Given by the United Swedish Societies and the John Ericsson Memorial Association, March 9, 1912, at the Park Avenue Hotel, New York City, in Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Battle between Monitor and Merrimac.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: In an age of anniversaries and their celebration, yours is unique. It is a tribute to a genius so modest that the immortality due him for his invaluable invention has never been accorded.

The latter part of the Nineteenth Century with us was full of centennials, commencing with that of the Declaration of Independence and, continuing through the various battles of the Revolution, they ended with the adoption of the Constitution, the inauguration of the first President and the formation of the Supreme Court of the United States. We celebrate still with appropriate ceremonies the recurring birthdays of Washington and Lincoln. The educational value of these memorial exercises cannot be overestimated. Each celebration is a university education completed in a single day—an education in the best history of one's country, and an inspiration for patriotism. The Bunker Hill Monument gave to the world the oration of Daniel Webster, which, appearing thereafter in the school books, did more to inform the youth of the United States of the virtues and achievements of their forefathers and of the principles underlying the institutions of their country than all the histories in existence.

It is interesting to glance over the speeches in and out of Congress during the first fifty years after the formation of the Government. They show that the orator understood that he must appeal to lively recollections among his constituents of the great revolution with which they were all familiar. During the subsequent fifty years commercialism and industrialism, attendant upon the marvelous progress and development of the

country, practically obliterated both memory and influence in regard to the story of the creation of our government, or of the soldiers and statesmen whose valor and wisdom made the struggle triumphant.

In estimating the value of the reproduction of the events or the retelling of the story of heroes and statesmen, I think that the interest centers around the individual. Events are innumerable. The mind, with the ordinary pursuits, struggles, successes and failures of life, has no time to grasp them all, or to study the details necessary to understand the significance of the results. But the romance of the hero has a perpetual charm. If the boy and the girl are thoroughly familiar with George Washington, Daniel Webster and Abraham Lincoln they will grasp most that it is necessary to know in regard to the story of American independence and evolution, of crises and how they were overcome successfully, of American valor, of the constitution and of representative government and the value for yesterday, to-day and forever of American liberty.

To understand what this day signifies we must in imagination throw a picture upon the wall of conditions in the United States, and between the United States and the world, in 1862. Happily, in the fraternizing of the combatants, in their equal share in the benefits of this most beneficent of governments and equal power and responsibility in its administration, the bitterness of that period has passed away, the flame of its passionate resentment has died out and we can calmly, from either side, study the heroic picture of men of the same blood, differently trained and with different ideals, fighting and dying as only such men can, for what they deemed to be right.

I remember that year as if it were yesterday. The Civil War had been a drawn battle between the North and the South, a free labor or a slave holding republic. Mr. Lincoln and his administration had, in their efforts to save the Union, an interior line of eleven thousand miles to defend and a sea coast of three thousand miles to blockade. The United States Navy had at that time only forty effective men-of-war. The conspirators in the government, knowing that they were to bring about secession, had sent the best and strongest of

these battleships to China and the coast of Africa and the Pacific Ocean. There were only eleven ships, carrying only one hundred and thirty-one guns, upon our Atlantic coast. Less than a year before the appearance of the *Monitor*, an American naval officer had taken off the British steamship Trent Mason and Slidell and their secretaries who were going to Europe as ambassadors of the Southern Confederacy, one to England and the other to France, to endeavor to secure recognition for their government. This had brought us to the verge of war with Great Britain, which was only averted by the diplomacy, skill and adroitness of Secretary of State William H. Seward. The sympathies of the governments of the Old World were wholly with the government of the Southern Confederacy. All these governments were either absolute monarchies or constitutional ones under the control of an aristocratic oligarchy. Tremendous immigration to the United States had carried back such ideas of American liberty as were endangering thrones and old institutions. If this Civil War should be successful that danger would be averted for a generation, so the ruling classes in all Europe were anxious for any excuse to interfere and to break up the American Republic. On the other hand, a notion had got abroad that the slaveholders of the South were a privileged and aristocratic class, while the North was a nation of shopkeepers. So the sympathies of the hereditary rulers were with what they deemed to be a part of the country whose governing people were more nearly affiliated with themselves. If the Southern Confederacy could be recognized by the great powers of Europe and arms and munitions of war poured in through the many harbors of the Atlantic coast, even the superior population, the greater wealth and the larger resources of the North could scarcely have been sufficient to save the Union.

In the summer of 1861 the President, Congress and the country were informed that at the Norfolk Navy Yard, which had fallen into Confederate hands, a new and most formidable ship of war was being constructed on original lines. Some of the ablest officers of the American Navy had gone with their States into the rebellion. They had taken the old frigate *Merrimac* which was at Norfolk when it was seized, and with

wonderful skill and ingenuity were transforming her into an ironclad impenetrable to any ordnance then in existence. There was alarm all over the country. It was fully thought that if the reports in regard to this formidable vessel were true she could destroy the eleven ships of the American fleet, and, as our harbors were then wholly unprotected against such a battleship, could enter and levy tribute upon Philadelphia, New York and Boston. Delegations of bankers and commercial men were constantly going to Washington beseeching the President to save them from this peril. I recall Mr. Lincoln telling me in his whimsical way of the arrival of such a committee. They were from New York. There were a hundred of them. He said that all had Prince Albert coats and top hats. Their several spokesmen detailed the enormous amount of wealth which they represented and the millions which each of them individually possessed. They pictured how this warship could sail unimpeded to their docks and burn the entire city or else levy tribute sufficient to carry the war on indefinitely. They claimed that they were entitled to protection because of the liberality with which they had subscribed to the government bonds. Mr. Lincoln said that he had never heard or dreamed of so much money being owned or represented by so few people. He said to them, "Gentlemen, we have no ships to send to New York; we have no guns to mount on your forts; we have no money, and the whole credit and means of the government are exhausted in doing what we can to protect the Capital and this tremendous interior and coast line. But," he said, "if I had as much money as you say you have," and then in his quaint way of pronouncing, "and was as 'skeered' as you are, I think I would find means with which to protect my own town." Then this delegation went to Congress, and Congress appropriated one million five hundred thousand dollars to invite proposals for the construction of any kind of a ship which would be able to meet and resist the attack of the *Merrimac* as had been described. Of course, the President was immediately flooded with plans from every cracked-brained inventor in the country, and the Navy Department was kept nights, days and Sundays in the investigation of these schemes. Fortunately, Captain John Ericsson had a reputation

of previous achievement. He had been the inventor of the screw propeller which had revolutionized the commerce of the world and the battleships of all nations. He finally secured a contract for his device, in which the experts had no faith, and a small part of this appropriation and commenced work at Green Point, Long Island. He completed his little *Monitor* in one hundred days, and then, with Lieutenant Worden and a crew, this nondescript craft, which was practically a raft with a revolving turret, armed with two eleven-inch guns, started for Hampton Roads. The country knew nothing of the ship, and the few who did had no faith in her, but regarded the experiment as only a desperate chance. On the 8th of March, 1862, the dread moment arrived when the *Merrimac* sailed out into Chesapeake Bay. She immediately attacked the two American frigates which were there to watch her, the *Cumberland* and the *Congress*. She sunk the *Cumberland* and drove the *Congress* ashore, and then returned to Norfolk to come out the next day and complete her work. Such a night and such a morning this country has seldom seen. There was little sleep anywhere; in the South wild elation, and in the North a frenzy of despair. The news, flashed by electric wires, filled the journals everywhere. There was but one ray of light, and that was a light of which to be proud. The *Cumberland*, refusing to surrender, had gone down in fifty-four feet of water, her flag still flying, her commander preferring that it should be buried with himself in the ocean rather than surrendered to the enemy. The morning of the 9th of March found the country in a thrill of expectancy, of hope on one side and of alarm on the other. In the early morning the *Monitor* had come into the bay. As the *Merrimac* started for the third ship, the *Minnesota*, this nondescript craft came out from under the shadow of the huge side of the *Minnesota* and made directly for the *Merrimac*. The veterans on both sides looked at her in amazement, the skilled and trained officers of the *Merrimac* bursting with laughter. Some shouted, "Here comes a Yankee tin can on a shingle," and others, "Here's a Yankee cheesebox on a raft," but the revolving cheesebox began to hurl from its eleven-inch guns solid shot against the armor of the *Merrimac* which broke the iron, though it could not pierce the twenty-

four inches of solid oak underneath, while the raft and the cheesebox proved invulnerable to the *Merrimac* guns. After several hours of this fighting, in which the *Merrimac* could not with her huge bulk ram her agile and small antagonist, in which she had suffered injuries that needed investigation, the *Merrimac* withdrew up the river to the Norfolk Navy Yard and never came out. Again language is inadequate to describe the wild excitement in every city, village and hamlet in the land which followed this most dramatic and spectacular fight.

The possibilities of the great nations of Europe recognizing the Southern Confederacy were over, the danger to the American Navy was past, the hope of a Confederate Navy was blasted, but an event occurred that day which challenged the cabinets, the navy departments and the admiralities of every nation in the world. They all saw that their fleets were doomed; they all saw that to preserve their positions on the ocean or protection for their coasts, there must be such a feverish haste, as never was known before, to burn, to bury or break up their wooden ships and secure ironclads.

There is no study more interesting than the one which would develop how much property has been suddenly destroyed by invention or discovery or the opening of new channels of trade. Quite as large fortunes as have ever been piled up by the possessors of new and remunerative ideas, have on the other hand been lost because the revolutionary character of these ideas have sent the old ships or coaches or machinery to the scrap heap. One of the greatest fortunes in the world is due to the sagacity and courage of its maker who would sell at any price or break up and destroy the machinery which he had installed at enormous expense yesterday if a better one came on the market to-day.

The *Monitor* could make six knots an hour; the dreadnaught makes twenty-one. The *Monitor* had a displacement of seven hundred and seventy-six tons; the dreadnaught twenty-five thousand tons. The *Monitor* took its chance of hitting its target as it came in sight of its revolving turret, but even then it was obscured by clouds of black smoke, and the range of its guns was a few hundred yards. Its shot weighed only

one hundred and sixty pounds, while the dreadnaught with entire accuracy, even in a heavy sea, will send a shot or a shell weighing nine hundred pounds for six miles, with a possible range of ten. The resisting power of the soft iron which protected the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor* alike differed as much from the Harveyized steel armor of the dreadnaught as one inch is to fifty, while the energy of the projectile from the great gun of the dreadnaught is fifty thousand times greater than that which went from the muzzle of the gun in the *Monitor*.

Ericsson said, as his little craft was launched, "I name you the *Monitor*." His thought went back to his school days when the monitor checked the bad boy or told the teacher. "I call you the *Monitor*," he said, "because you will admonish the leaders of the Southern rebellion that the batteries on the banks of their rivers can no longer present barriers to the entrance of the Union forces. I call you the *Monitor* as a warning to Great Britain to stop at once the building of the three battleships now under construction which are to cost three million five hundred thousand dollars apiece. I call you the *Monitor* because you are to warn all nations that they must abandon their navies and build new ones on your suggestion."

Before Ericsson's invention of the screw propeller, the paddle wheels on either side of the ship were thought to be the greatest progress possible for the propulsion of a vessel. To see what has been the effect of this product of Ericsson's genius, one has only to picture what would happen to the towering sides of the *Olympic* with paddle boxes sufficient, if they could be constructed, to enable them to move at all. What would happen to those floating fortresses, the twenty-five-thousand-ton dreadnaughts, if they were dependent upon this suggestion of the motive power in the mill wheel of our ancestors?

The battle which had been fought in the waters of Hampton Roads when the sun went down fifty years ago to-night has its lesson to-day. If the government, when the rebellion broke out, could have had the full strength of its navy, or if it had possessed an adequately equipped army, or, in other words, if in time of peace it had been prepared for war, the rebellion

would have been quickly ended and we would have been spared the horrors of four years of the bloodiest civil strife in all history. There is a mighty preachment now which finds its echo in Congress, that we can save money by reducing the efficiency of the army and denying the battleships necessary for the navy. "War is out of date," cry these mistaken advocates of peace. There was a time when the world was made up of nations seeking to gain power and wealth by conquering their weaker neighbors, when the possibilities of conflict were ever present because of the grasping avarice of power. The possibilities of conflict are ever present for us. With the strained relations existing between Great Britain and Germany, nothing but the invincible strength of the British navy prevented war last summer. With the ambition for a larger place in the sun which characterized diplomacy about Morocco, nothing prevented one of the bloodiest wars of modern times except the efficiency of the French army, united with the overwhelming strength of the British navy. Conditions in Mexico, with the enormous sums of foreign money invested in that country, and the great numbers of the citizens of various nations doing business and living there, are full of peril to the Monroe Doctrine of which we are the guardian. At any hour all Europe may plump to us the question, "Shall we rely on your interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine or protect ourselves, as we are amply able to do?" If we had a lesser navy they would not ask that question. They would protect themselves, which they would much prefer to do. War with Turkey would not have occurred if Turkey had possessed a navy equal to that of Italy. It came upon every cabinet suddenly as the explosion of a stick of dynamite.

But, gentlemen, let this night have other lessons more intimate and personal. Let it be the commencement of a movement for an instruction which shall put in his proper place in the Temple of Fame one who deserves to stand among the immortal few who have been the benefactors of mankind in different ages of the world, your countryman and our naturalized fellow-citizen, Captain John Ericsson.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW **at the Dinner Given by the Lotos Club of** **New York to Mr. Justice Pitney, of the** **Supreme Court, Thursday, May 2, 1912.**

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: It is fortunate for the stability of our institutions and the preservation of our Union that the Justices of the Supreme Court are not subject, like our candidates for the Presidency, to an open primary. The necessity of this new system compels the President and an ex-President of the United States, Governors of States who are candidates, and all others who aspire to the great position, to spend nearly every day of the months preceding the convention in living on sleeping cars by night and making rear platform speeches to crowds at stations by day in order to impress upon the constituencies their several claims for the nomination of their party. While the candidates are criticised, it is not their fault, but it is the exigency of the new system which compels them to appear as far as possible in every locality and before all the people of our vast country.

There are about two hundred thousand lawyers in the United States, and it is the legitimate ambition, I might say the absorbing desire, of every one of them to attain the highest honor possible in their profession, and that is to be one of the nine Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. If we had, as is now advocated for filling vacancies in that court, the open primary, there would be at least twenty-five thousand lawyers traveling the country, speaking wherever they could secure an audience and making heroic efforts to attain the first page of the daily press. They would be appealing for votes, not because of their knowledge of the law or of their ability to interpret statutes according to the Constitution or of their fearlessness in holding the scales of justice evenly for the strong and the weak, for the rich and the poor, regardless of popular passion or temporary excitement and enthusiasm, but they would be assuring the people of each

of our forty-eight States that their diverse views on questions of currency and of tariff, of war and of peace, of State boundary lines and State claims to authority against that of the Federal Government, the candidate could be relied upon to stand by the views of the people he was addressing without any weak reverence for an antiquated constitution or laws which had ceased to meet the popular will.

What sort of a bench would result from this process is a question on par with the famous dictum about the verdict of the petit jury that no one but divinity could foreknow, and even he might be in doubt. Happily, those wise founders of our government decided that the Justices of the Supreme Court should be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. It is a remarkable tribute to this method of selection that the historian can find no criticism upon any choice thus made during the one hundred and twenty years of the existence of the Court. Whatever may be our views or our preferences on the Presidency, there is one question on which there is no divided opinion, and that is by his wonderful training as a judge and his accurate knowledge of the qualities necessary to meet all the requirements of the highest court in our land, no President, no citizen, is better fitted, or has more admirably demonstrated his ability and his fairness than President Taft. He has never considered whether the best man was a Democrat or a Republican; he has never considered what his religion might be, but with the opportunity that has come to him to appoint a majority of the Court, he has in a most extraordinary degree elevated and strengthened it.

In view of the honor conferred upon us this evening by having the most recent appointment to this great tribunal as our guest, I am reminded of the beginnings of the Court. After the Judges had been appointed by Washington and sworn in, they opened court in the rooms of the Merchants' Exchange in this city. There being no precedent as to the robing of the Judges, as there had been none for the formation of the court, Chief Justice Jay appeared in a gorgeous cloak presented to him when he received a degree as Doctor of Laws from the University of Dublin, while the other Judges wore the plain, black gown which is still the uniform of the Court. They

met every day for three days in succession, but not a case was placed upon the calendar, nor did a litigant nor a lawyer appear before them. Then they accepted as a body an invitation to a dinner. This was the first official action of the court. It is a precedent which they have followed, not collectively, but individually, with the greatest success for one hundred and twenty years. When a hostess in Washington wishes to make her dinner a success, her first effort is not the Cabinet, nor the Senate, nor the House of Representatives, nor the Diplomatic Corps, but the Justices of the Supreme Court. If she can secure one of them, and generally there are only two or three available on account of the immense labor which devolves upon them, her dinner is a success. She simply builds around the Justice her Diplomats, her Cabinet Ministers, her Senators and her members of the House, and the central figure, like Abou Ben Adam, leads all the rest.

It is another curious incident connected with the beginnings of the court that this dinner was given by the Grand Jury of the County. The court was wholly unknown because entirely new, and the Grand Jury believing and saying that they were the oldest institution under the Common Law and its guardian and protector, were the proper hosts to pay the first honors to the new Court. From being wholly unknown, as at the beginning, the Supreme Court is to-day the best known, the most respected, the most authoritative and the most august tribunal in the world. I have tried, but my imagination fails me, to create a scene where the Marshal of the District of Columbia should, in a similar way, convey from the Grand Jury an invitation to the court as a body to officially accept their invitation for dinner.

It illuminates the present situation and discussion and the claim for nobility of the ideas which are now so eloquently and vigorously presented in regard to the courts to recall the proceedings of the convention which framed the Constitution. This was no ordinary gathering. Its members had passed through the fires of revolution. They had broken ties with the Mother Country to which they were bound by tradition, history and education. They were educated men, profound students and familiar with every trial of government which history dis-

closed and of every theory which philosophers had propounded. They were trying upon the ruins of the Confederacy, where the central government had no power and the States flouted its decrees, its orders and its statutes, to build a safe and permanent republic, which should preserve for all liberty and law. They debated as to the powers of the States and as to the powers which should be granted by the States to the Federal Government. They were guided by the spirit of Washington's wise advice to "give up a share of liberty in order to preserve the rest." After they had formed their Congress and created their presidency, there still existed the danger of a popular and arbitrary Executive becoming all powerful or of a radical Congress defying both the President and the Constitution. Then was originated the idea of the Supreme Court with power to hold both the Executive and the Legislative branches of the Government within the limits of the Constitution—a court which Washington, with one of his terse phrases, designated, what is has been ever since and always will be, "The Keystone of the Arch of Union."

In those debates these great lawyers, statesmen, philosophers and soldiers canvassed thoroughly and exhaustively the questions of appointment and of removal or, in other words, recall, which are now agitating the public mind. While there was a great debate and many votes upon other provisions of the Constitution, the vote upon the establishment of the Supreme Court, and the great and sweeping powers which were to be granted to it, was unanimous. There was a proposition that the Judges should be removed by a majority vote of the two Houses of Congress, but as against the present provision that their tenure shall be for life and during good behavior and their removal only by impeachment and trial before the Senate, there was but one vote in favor of the removal by a majority vote of the two Houses of Congress.

There was another feature of this debate which illumines the present political situation—the agitation now to create conditions which will make Judges more politicians than Judges, more legislators than interpreters of the law and the Constitution. A proposition was offered in the Convention that the Court should have the power to revise acts passed by Congress

before they were submitted to the President, but the unanimous judgment upon this proposition was that the function of the Court was not legislative, it was not executive, it was not to make laws, but to interpret the laws according to the written Constitution. Now, however, we are told that it is essential to liberty and to a quick response to the popular will that judicial decisions shall be submitted to a vote by the people, or, more drastic, that if the Judges' decisions of the Court are not popular the Judge shall be recalled. All of this reduced to its last analysis means that justice shall be administered by the mob.

Judge Grover was one of the ablest jurists who ever occupied a seat upon our Court of Appeals. He was a rough diamond. It was my good fortune to know him intimately. I remember that when the Court of Appeals sat at Saratoga Springs some one met him in the United States Hotel, and said, "Judge, are you staying here?" He said, "No, I can't stand what they call a course dinner, with twenty different things and an hour to serve it. I stay at a boarding house where my victuals are all on the table at once."

He was the author of the famous phrase that when a lawyer is defeated in the highest court he has no remedy but to go down to the tavern and curse the Court.

But the statesmen of the hour propose now that the attorney shall have a new remedy, and that is by petition remove the Court and secure one which will decide according to his brief and retainer.

Within the last year there have been two trials where passion and not justice occupied the bench. In each it was discovered after the victims were killed that they were innocent. Col. Roosevelt tells an admirable story of his experience while a rancher in the West, when a citizen was hung as a horse thief. It was found shortly afterward that he was innocent and one of the court which condemned and executed him was appointed to gently break the news to his wife. He said, on being greeted as he entered the house, "Excuse me, madam, but where is your husband?" She said, "He is down in the village." Said he, "No, he ain't, I have got him in a box out in the wagon. He is dead. The boys made a mistake and

lung him, but they want me to tell you for your comfort and consolation that they have found since that he was innocent."

Any one who has had a large experience in State Legislatures or in the National Congress knows that many acts become laws under popular clamor or to gratify particular interests of capital or labor which the courts afterward declare to be unconstitutional, but every lawyer knows that the court in rendering its decisions points out how the things sought for by the legislative body can be attained and still be within the provisions of the Constitution. The court does not legislate, the court does not pretend to say whether the acts are wise or unwise. Then, why this clamor against the decision and for its recall, or against the court and its destruction? It is because of impatience and cowardice. All politicians who have engineered the law wish to get immediate benefit from the people who desire it, and therefore think that the recall would be a shorter method and that it would be a club which would intimidate the court in deciding against its convictions and its conscience. The other reason is cowardice. The promoters of such a statute do not wish to confess that they did not know how to prepare it. They are afraid to go before the legislative body of which they are members and acknowledge the error which they committed in the original act. They are afraid to say to that legislative body, "We have now prepared a bill which accomplishes the same purpose we originally intended, but it is strictly within the provisions of the Constitution and will be approved by the court." To make such a declaration and such an admission would lead to the charge that they were half-baked statesmen, and they would lose credit with their constituency and authority with the body to which they belong. Therefore, it is safer, and, properly presented, infinitely more popular to ask for the overthrow of the court.

During my years as a Senator the question would often be discussed in the free intercourse of the committee rooms what position under the government was most desirable. Of course, the Presidency was the first ambition of all, and yet I have known Presidents who would be glad to exchange the White House for the Supreme Court. But, the Presidency aside, the opinion always was that for a man who was com-

petent and fit, there was no office in the world which presented such opportunities, which granted such independence, from which could be derived so much pleasure and in which there were so many opportunities for usefulness and permanent fame as to be a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

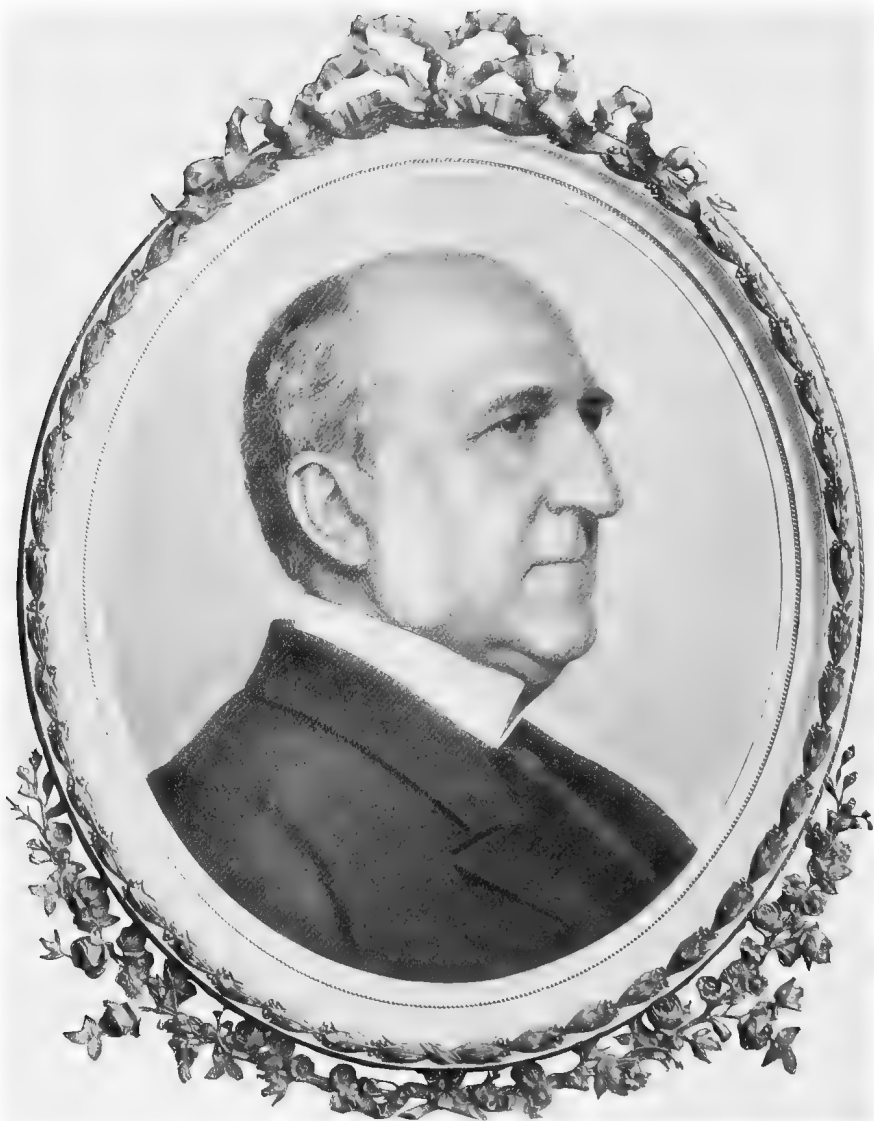
The traditions of that great tribunal are an inspiration to every member. Great men have preceded them and their decisions have made possible the perpetuity of the Union of the States and the preservation of a government of liberty, law and order. The court has expanded to apply by interpretation the general principles of the Constitution to meet and permit the marvelous growth of the country and the development of its resources. That our institutions which were framed when our country consisted of thirteen States and three millions of people are elastic enough for all the needs of forty-eight States and a hundred millions of people is due to the wisdom, the courage, the learning and the genius of the Supreme Court.

We here to-night congratulate the Supreme Court that to succeed one of the greatest Justices who ever honored that tribunal the President has appointed and the Senate has confirmed so great a lawyer, so profound a jurist, so wise and broad a man as our guest, Mr. Justice Pitney.



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Chauncey M. Depew.

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Chauncey M. Depew.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Twenty-second Annual Dinner given by
the Montauk Club of Brooklyn, in Celebration
of his Seventy-ninth Birthday, April
26, 1913.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: With each recurrence of these anniversaries I am more impressed with the permanence of friendship. The proof is here to-night. For twenty-two years the members of this Club in celebrating my birthday added to the pleasure of the first meeting an original compliment. In twenty-two years several generations of club members come and go, but there is always a central phalanx of veterans to keep up principles and traditions of the organization. I have been greeted to-night by fathers who have brought their sons, and by sons who have brought the grandsons of those who welcomed me within these walls twenty-two years ago. The political revolutions which have taken place in the country and in the State, the financial crises which have for a time paralyzed our industries, and the agitations which seemed revolutionary, but disappeared, have neither interrupted nor impaired our numbers or the pleasures of our anniversaries.

Lucian, the famous gossip of antiquity, the predecessor and originator of the immortal Pepys, in one of his stories, says that he called upon a famous centenarian named Gorgias who lived at Corinth seventeen hundred years ago, anxious to put the questions to which every centenarian has been subjected ever since, and probably before, for there is nothing new under the sun. Lucian called upon Gorgias to find out the secrets of his extreme age. He said to him, "You have just had your one hundred and eighth birthday and are enjoying splendid health, vigor, and vitality. Now, to what do you

ascribe it?" Gorgias answered, "To the fact that I never have accepted an invitation to dine out." One of our centenarians a few days ago, answering the same question at one hundred and three, said in his case it was due to the fact that he had eaten a red herring every day. I think the American had the better time. He certainly did not eat that herring alone, and it created a thirst which led to companionship in quenching it.

What a ghastly century was that of Gorgias who had never dined out. The brilliant men of his period, the sculptors who are the despair of our artists, the architects whom we can never equal, the philosophers and poets who have been models of all succeeding generations, the orators, statesmen, and soldiers whom subsequent history has never eclipsed, all were visitors during his long life to beautiful and artistic Corinth, and he might, at the dinners which were invariably given them, have enjoyed the pleasures of their society and left an autobiography of personal reminiscences of incalculable value to posterity.

I have met most of the distinguished men and women of my time in this and other countries, and with scarcely an exception the best I ever knew of them occurred at dinner. An evening with Gladstone was a liberal education. He possessed the most comprehensive mind of his generation and was gifted with the most graphic power of expressing his opinions. A formal interview with him was of little value, but in the confidences and intimacies of a long dinner at a friend's house, Gladstone could be more eloquent, more impressive, and more delightful than in his best efforts in the House of Commons. It was possible on such occasions to study the workings of that marvelous mind and get an insight into the sources of his magnetic power.

To read Browning's poems was one thing, but to hear Browning talk at dinner was much more human, informing, and charming. He said to me that when, at the request of the government, the Duke of Sutherland gave a dinner to the Shah of Persia at the Stafford House, he was one of the guests. In order to impress this semi-savage monarch, everyone was requested to wear all their regalia. The Prince of

Wales and members of the royal family, the dukes, marquises, and earls came in all the medieval splendor of their rank and order, and with all their jewels, real and paste. Mr. Browning said that, having no rank, he came in the crimson gown of an honor man of Cambridge University. Diamonds did not impress the Shah, because the buttons on his coat were real stones as big as horse chestnuts. The ermine and tiaras produced no impression upon him, because he and his suite were arrayed in more barbaric splendor. But his wild eye roving around the table came upon this crimson Cambridge robe at the foot where, as a commoner, the poet sat. The Shah instantly said, "Who is that great man?" "Why, that is Mr. Browning." "What is he?" "He is a poet." "Command him to come here and sit beside me." So a royalty or a prime minister was displaced and the embarrassed poet was put beside the autocrat. The Shah said, "I understand you are a poet, a great poet," which Browning modestly admitted. "Well, then," he said, "I want you to stay here with me, because more than the fact that I am the supreme ruler of Persia, I am a great poet myself." Mr. Browning assured me that the story was true; that the Shah said to the then Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII, "This is a magnificent palace." The prince said, "Yes, this is the finest palace in Great Britain." "Well," said the Shah, "let me give you a little piece of advice. When one of my nobility gets rich enough to live in a house like this, I cut off his head and take what he has. It is very simple and saves a great deal of trouble."

But the night will not permit an enumeration. I have learned more State secrets from Cabinet Ministers abroad in the confidences of the dinner table than I could have had in years of residence, and, under similar circumstances, the armor of reserve has dropped from Presidents of the United States, and their troubles, their anxieties, their wishes, their ambitions, their friends and their enemies have been an open book. "Ah! but," says the philosopher who is eternally denouncing the opportunities of wealth, "dinners are all very well for you, but how about the rest of us?" Why, my dear sir, the dullest, most stupid and most borish dinner I ever attended cost one

hundred dollars a plate, while my most delightful evenings have been with a bohemian coterie where a dollar was the limit. The cost of the dinner, the rarity of its wines, and the brand of its cigars are of no account unless about the table are men and women of mind, of individuality, of versatility, of something to give which is worth receiving, and a willingness to listen to the message which you think is worth delivering.

Senator Hoar, who in his long, brilliant, and most distinguished career had met everybody worth knowing, told me that no gathering, however small or however large, equaled in wit and wisdom, in flashes of genius, in things always to be remembered and never to be forgotten, the weekly luncheons at Parker's in Boston, where Longfellow, Hawthorne, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Theodore Parker and others, and Judge Hoar, the brightest of them all, met for a weekday luncheon.

Judge Robertson, of Westchester, and I were invited by Secretary of State Seward to dine with him in Washington on our way to the Republican National Convention which re-nominated President Lincoln. That dinner changed the Vice President from Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York, to Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, and made a different chapter in American history.

The newspapers which tell us everything say that the present tariff and income tax bills were perfected at a dinner at the White House. This brings us in immediate and acute contact with the most interesting of current events.

In my fifty-seven years in public and semi-public life I have participated in many political revolutions, and in none of them have these changes especially of the tariff been received with so little excitement and scarcely a suggestion of passion. There are no editorials or flaming speeches predicting direful disasters, or indignation meetings resolving that we are on the brink of financial and industrial ruin. These tariff propositions going as they do to the very foundation of our financial and industrial system, and the manner in which they are received, are high indications of that much abused word "Progress." We have become a deliberative and contemplative people. Without inherited prejudices or partisan bias, we can

calmly weigh measures and policies and arrive at individual conclusions as to results when they crystallize into law. We all recognize that at some time these theories must be tried. We have all recognized that at some time the theorists must have devolved upon them the responsibilities of government. There has been no period since the Civil War when experiments could be tried with less danger than now. The country never was so prosperous, employment was never so general, wages were never so high, the farmer was never so rich or receiving such returns for the product of his field and his live stock, the output of the manufactories was never so great, the expansion of our credit and the amount of our exchanges were never so large, and our imports and exports never reached such a volume. The fly in the amber, or, to put it more seriously, our irritation and discontent under these otherwise happy conditions is the high cost of living. The laws which our new Rulers are putting in force will affect equally all the people; therefore, it is the duty of all of us to wish them God speed and good luck. It is the hope of all of us that the realization of their dreams, which some of us have feared, will be in the line of their most sanguine hopes. Their problem is a difficult one. In simple form, it is how to reduce the cost of living without impairing opportunities of earning a living. In that is the whole crux of the situation.

It has been our habit to touch lightly and if possible informally upon the things that have happened since our last gathering. The Constitution of the United States has not been amended in over one hundred years. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, which were passed after the Civil War, were really not amendments, but simply declarations of principles which were in the Declaration of Independence and in the spirit of the original instrument.

But after over one hundred years of satisfaction with the Constitution, within this year two amendments have been added, one an income tax, the other for the election of United States Senators by the people. I am not going to discuss these measures. They are here to stay. But when the history of their passage comes to be written, it will be disclosed that there are some curious phases of human nature.

When the amendment to the Constitution of the United States for an income tax came before our New York Legislature, it was defeated by a message from Governor Hughes. That message did not oppose an income tax, but clearly stated that the needs of our commonwealth were growing so rapidly and the sources of State taxation were so limited that the income tax should be left to the States, and the general government, with its infinite possibilities, could raise revenue from other sources. When the income tax amendment was under discussion in the Senate, I had a heart-to-heart talk with a group of Senators from the Western States who were urging its adoption. I said to them, "Our revenues at present are furnishing a surplus. We never will need to resort to this method of taxation except in a great emergency. Then why do you want it now?" Their answer was, "Because with an income tax we can collect one-half of the expenses of the government from your State of New York, and the other half from New England, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois." The exemption of four thousand dollars a year in the present bill shows that these gentlemen control this legislation, because very few in their States have an income of that size. It is an interesting question in legislation of this kind, since in no country in the world where they have an income tax is the exemption equal to one thousand dollars, whether in order to have the whole people alert, inquisitive, and critical upon the expenses of government and in checking extravagance, the largest possible number should not have their attention called to those expenditures by contributing something toward the support of the government.

When the income tax amendment was before our New York Legislature, I said to a man who as much as any other controlled that body, "Did you think Governor Hughes was right?" He said, "Yes." I then told him what these Western Senators had said to me. He said, "That I believe, too." I said, "Then why are you urging the adoption of this amendment by our State?" His answer was, "Because Bryan wants it."

When the amendment for the election of the United State Senators by the people was so framed that the United

States Government had the power to see that all the people voted and that none was disfranchised, I said to the Senators from the States where the negro is disfranchised, "Do you see danger of a force bill if this amendment is adopted? Don't you think that as crises arise, and they will arise, where a majority of the States feel that certain measures in which they are interested could be passed if all the people, including the negroes, in your States voted, they will pass laws under which the government will see that they do vote, at least for United States Senators?" They said, "Yes, we see all those dangers." I said, "Then why are you voting for it?" Their answer was, "Because Bryan wants it."

This brings us to a horizontal view of one of the paradoxes of our American life. We are rushing with unprecedented rapidity for us, for we are a conservative people, toward the breaking down of the safeguards which are in the Constitution against hasty and inconsiderate action by the people. We are proceeding upon the theory that leadership no longer does or ought to exist, that all matters should originate with and be decided upon by the people as a mass on the passion or emotion of the moment and without the intervention of representative bodies or interpretations by the courts, and yet there never was a time when leadership counted for so much as it does to-day. There never was a time when leaders asserted themselves with such confidence and autocratic authority. More than four millions of Republicans followed Colonel Roosevelt in the last campaign not because they wanted to break up the Republican party, not because they adopted all the doctrines of his platform or of his speeches, but because they believed in Roosevelt and wanted for President of the United States a strong, militant, aggressive, and audacious leader. The National Convention of the Democratic party at Baltimore was swayed by Mr. Bryan. It was recognized that the great mass of his party recognized him as a supreme leader whom they were willing to follow wherever he chose to go. For the first time in one hundred and twenty-three years the President of the United States leaves the Executive Mansion and appears at the Capitol to impress upon

the Legislative Branch of the Government his views upon pending legislation. These are not symptoms, but facts. With all the shouting and the trumpeting for a pure democracy, the exactions of our busy, hurried, rapid, nervous life call for a leader in every department more than at any other period in our history.

The same is true in the industrial disorders which are now so acute. In their more revolutionary phases they are governed by a leader with very few assistants, whose power is unlimited, whose authority is unquestioned.

Another curious phase of this trend to pure democracy is that its leaders are opposed to majorities. Ten per cent of the voters initiate a number of radical measures. They are submitted to a referendum at the next election, and a plurality of the votes cast make them laws or insert them in the Constitution. In the history of these referendums the vote has averaged about twenty per cent of the total vote at any election. The measures have been adopted by the petitioners who constitute one-half, and many times more than one-half of those voting carrying the day because the majority of the electorate have not cast their ballots. When it is proposed that no law by referendum shall become a law and no amendment shall be attached to the Constitution unless it receives a majority of all the votes cast at the election when it is submitted, without exception the reformer cries "No," reforms must be carried not by the unintelligent mass, but by the few who understand the needs of the people.

I believe in trade unions and trade organizations. In the railway world, I have been their best friend, but there is a new movement now progressing all over the world and forging to the front with us with lurid exhibitions of its power. As a student all my life of every idea which has captured any considerable number of people, whether upon religious, or social, or industrial, or economic questions, I bought the book which gives the most authoritative and vigorous exhibition of Syndicalism by one of its ablest and most eloquent writers. It is very interesting, though not yet very alarming, except in its fierce and bloody riots to compel other unions to join. He says, "We have in the United States to-day nearly five hun-

dred thousand organized fighting soldiers. In the whole world we have seven millions. We are comrades with a common purpose. The cry of our army is 'No Quarter.' We want all you possess. We will be content with nothing less than all you possess. Here are our hands. They are strong hands. The able-bodied workers would not have to labor more than two or three hours every day to feed everybody, clothe everybody, house everybody and give fair measure of little luxuries to everybody." Then he goes on to say, "When all these things are accomplished, then all the world will be impelled to action—scientists formulating law, inventors employing law, artists and sculptors painting canvases and shaping clay, poets and statesmen serving humanity by singing and by statecraft. Our intention is to destroy present-day society as a fact, and also to take possession of the world with all its wealth and machinery and government."

Here are a few of the bunkers over which this army must successfully propel its bomb: There are about eight millions of people, men and women, in this country who own their own homes and will fight to retain them. There are over four millions who own their own farms, other millions who get their living from farms and none are so tenacious of their rights as the farmers. There are about eleven millions who are engaged in various industries in a way that interests them to a point where they will not tamely surrender their rights in raising stock, or as florists, or horticulturists, or nurserymen. There are the millions of small shopkeepers everywhere whose living and the future for their families are in the goods in their stores. Our eyes are so blinded by the increase in the capitalization of great corporations like the steel or tobacco or sugar that we lose sight of the fact that there never were so many small manufacturers with limited capital, employing few men, among whom the proprietors are the hardest workers, scattered all over the United States. The foundations of our society are deep in the selfish interests, in the ambitions, in the hopes and in the affections for their offspring of ninety-nine per cent of our people. Beside all that is the national conscience with an irradicable sense of right and wrong, based upon respect for the property and lives and liberties of others,

for which every church, every common school, every agency of education and instruction, every fraternal lodge, is a recruiting station.

Now the crux of that idea is that when this millennium has been brought around nobody will have to work over two hours in twenty-four. During the rest of the day everybody will be happy because industrially occupying their time in creating, or making, or producing things which are useful and helpful to their fellows. A distinguished philosopher has said that the mainsprings of action are ambition, necessity and greed. It may be growing out of what happened in the Garden of Eden that effort requires a spur. Everyone of us know that in our own experience. There is no one at this table here to-night who would be what he is unless there had been a motive to accomplish something for himself. There is no truth more self-evident than that this selfishness has in it also the elements of patriotism. The man who forges ahead and in his advance creates continually larger opportunities for others to get on is selfishly a climber and unselfishly a philanthropist. The curse of the youth of our country is idleness. Our hooligans, our gang men, our gun men, our young criminals are all the products of idleness. The ambition of the boy at school is aroused first by competition with his fellows. As he advances to the high school or the college it is for the honors which can be achieved. I look back over sixty years of continuous effort and when I try to differentiate the causes of my health and happiness I come back always to work. I never yet knew an idle man who was a happy one. I mean an idle man who was such from choice. Every man I ever knew who was doing the best he could in the line of his talent and equipment and who became fond of his work, and who outside of his regular occupation had some fad which interested him, and who could on occasion play as hard as he worked, was healthy and happy himself and radiated happiness and inspiration to everyone about him.

We are all workingmen, but I have known thousands of what are known as laboring men; that is, those who earn a living by the work of their hands, who in their little gardens found repose and recreation, who in their church, or in

their lodges, or in their social work, discovered never-ending sources of education in broad-mindedness, in higher ideals of citizenship and material spiritual and intellectual advancement.

It is an old charge that Republics are ungrateful. Perhaps that is a mistake and they are only forgetful. I recall on this question three of my late colleagues in the Senate who were among its most distinguished and useful members and are now in private life.

When the case for the expulsion of Senator Lorimer of Illinois was tried before the Committee on Privileges and Elections, a large majority of the Committee, though they knew that the newspapers generally demanded Mr. Lorimer's expulsion, and such was the sentiment of a majority of the people, yet acting as judges they could not find in the testimony sufficient warrant for a verdict against him.

Senator Beveridge, one of the most brilliant Senators of his term in the Senate, made a minority report and led the fight against Lorimer. He had often before proved himself to be an accomplished and brilliant debater, but he never was so able, resourceful and eloquent as in this battle. It was on the eve of his fight for a re-election to the Senate, and he and his friends felt that his reward was certain. He made one of the most thorough and able canvasses of Indiana that any candidate ever did, and yet he was beaten.

One of the most useful and able Senators in my time was Norris Brown of Nebraska. Mr. Brown believed that nine-tenths of the people of his State were in favor of a constitutional amendment for an income tax. He introduced the amendment and gave his time, energy and remarkable diplomacy to secure its passage. I am quite certain from my own familiarity with the course of that legislation that except for Mr. Brown's advocacy and support, the amendment would not have passed the Senate. When he came before his people for the approval of his course, he was beaten.

My captivating friend, Jonathan Bourne of Oregon, was the author of most of the so-called reforms which have substituted the initiative, the referendum and the recall in Oregon for representative government and made the Governor and the

Legislature rubber stamps. In season and out of season, in the Senate and on the platform, and in the press, he portrayed the merits of this return to a pure democracy and this recovery by the people from an obsolete system of their full rights. It is said that the placing of one of his greatest speeches on this question in the hands of every voter in the newly admitted State of Arizona led to the adoption of the most radical Constitution ever known. We all thought that whatever might happen to the rest of us, the call for re-election of Jonathan Bourne was to come with a unanimity never known before by a grateful people. Yet he was beaten.

It is an interesting study in politics whether people are ungrateful, which I do not believe, or forgetful, which may happen, or whether their Tribune is not sometimes mistaken in thinking that he knows just what they want.

It has been the fashion in all ages for elderly people to lament the good old times and long for their recall. I do not share in any way in this desire. Solomon repudiated it, but then Solomon had more things than all his predecessors put together, including the family, and notwithstanding his hundreds of wives and thousands of concubines seems to have been very happy in his domestic relations. George Washington, on the other hand, thought that the times as they were in the few years preceding his death far worse than in earlier days and that they gave little hope for the future. As I look back over fifty-seven years of intense activity in many departments of life, of a full share of both successes and failures, of hard knocks and compensating triumphs, of sorrows and joys, I come to the conclusion that while one year may be very bad, very miserable and very hopeless, yet take time by decades every ten years as a whole is infinitely better than all the preceding ones.

Still, there are some things which seem to be permanently lost, and are to be greatly regretted, for the enjoyment of life. One of them is conversation. The most charming volumes in history are made up of the conversation of agreeable talkers, but it is a general complaint that now conversation is a lost art. Some say it is because bridge whist has so shortened the dinner as to make it a feed instead of a function, and the

craze for gambling in bridge whist has destroyed the freedom from care and elasticity of mind which are necessary for the interchange of thought, of humor, of anecdote, of argument and of raillerie. We ought to be grateful, therefore, to anyone who can help in the restoration of that most charming, I almost say indispensable medium for the enjoyment of friends and acquaintances—conversation.

President Wilson is happily contributing to this end. He is advocating in a series of brilliantly written magazine articles what he calls "The New Freedom." There is intense curiosity to know what the New Freedom means. This century and a quarter of unexampled and unparalleled growth and prosperity under our Constitution and laws has given us the freedom so gloriously expressed in the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration of Independence was a philosophic statement of liberty, but the Constitution of the United States crystallized it into law. Jefferson's idea of liberty was that governments are based upon the individual, and that he must have the largest freedom with the fewest possible restrictions and the least possible legislation.

President Wilson now has an opportunity of which he must avail himself of putting into law his "New Freedom." We are told by the press, always so argus-eyed and so truthful, that at a conference at the White House a few days since the President agreed with the Chairmen of the Committees of the Senate and House of Representatives which have charge of appropriation bills that the one now passing should have on it a rider exempting labor unions and farmers' associations from the restrictions and penalties of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. They get a liberty which no one else enjoys and become a privileged class. Now this is practical. It is a New Freedom. The first restraint ever put since the adoption of our Constitution in 1787 upon the activities of the individual when acting in great combinations was by the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. Under prosecutions commenced by Cleveland, and continued by McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft, these combinations have been relentlessly pursued because violating the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. Some of them have been put out of business and many of them have been dissolved. Decisions

have been rendered in these cases which bring every great combination within the restrictions of this law. Now a New Freedom is to be given by legislation to labor unions to do as they please and farmers to form associations and combinations for the marketing of their products. There is no suggestion that those who are engaged in iron or steel or tobacco or oil, in hats, shoes or clothing, or printing or anything else shall be relieved from the beneficent restrictions of the Sherman Acts in which I think most of us heartily believe. But labor unions and farmers can club together, and by the processes which are so successful in protection Germany, and called cartels in free trade England and called combinations in protection America, and called trusts, can have the one in doing what it likes and the other in raising the price of bread and meat all the advantages of the freedom which everybody had before the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. Now this practical demonstration of the new freedom has led to more conversation everywhere than anything which has occurred for many years. It is an enlightening, illuminating and instructing conversation. It raises that one topic of intense interest at all times where everybody is affected "Who will next receive the New Freedom?"

Vice-President Marshall is a charming gentleman and a delightful speaker. I have heard him on many subjects, upon which he talks so well, and none better than upon brotherhood in Masonry, he and I being both brethren of the Thirty-third Degree. Two weeks ago to-night he attended the Jeffersonian banquet in New York. He there delivered an address which was as novel as it was original. He claimed that the inheritance of property from one's parents is not a natural or a constitutional right, but purely a privilege granted by statute, and so to prevent accumulations of property all that the Legislatures has to do is to repeal the laws of inheritance, and then whatever a person acquires will go not to his natural heirs, but to the State. Of course, if such a law was passed there would be no accumulations afterwards, because the main incentive for saving money is to take care of those who are dependent upon us—in other words, our wives and children. There would be people so masterful and with such genius in that line that they could not help making

money. If they were not to have the pride and joy and comfort of its enjoyment in the benefits it would give after their death, they would squander it. The first line in which a man begins to squander money is self-indulgence; drunkenness would become the attendant of prosperity, and the Prohibition States, which are now doing fairly well in restricting the consumption of liquor, would discover that their laws were universally nullified. The new view of life would be "let us eat, drink and be merry for to-morrow we die."

This speech was delivered on Saturday night two weeks ago and published in the Sunday morning papers. It made conversation all over the United States. When I came out of church and met the people of all the other churches, I was stopped dozens of times, not to talk about the sermons which had been heard, but to discuss the speech of Vice-President Marshall. I lunched with some friends and dined with others that day, and both functions were prolonged far beyond the usual time by an animated discussion of Brother Marshall's deliverance. If Eugene Debs had said this, it would have passed unnoticed, because expected. It is the unexpected which inspires conversation. So from the new Vice-President of the United States it became a matter of interesting talk in every gathering, private or public.

Well, these things have helped in bringing into activity again the almost lost art of conversation. Still, these subjects are not so fine as those which prevailed in the good old times. We used to long for a new novel by Dickens or Thackeray, and talk over the old ones until the new ones came, and then the new ones until others were published, until David Copperfield, Micawber, Captain Cuttle, Jack Bunsby, Dora, Becky Sharp, and Colonel Newcome were intimate members of our families. They inspired and radiated the home. We eagerly discussed Hawthorne's latest novels, and what Whittier, Lowell, Emerson and Doctor Parker, Doctor Storrs or Henry Ward Beecher had contributed to the wisdom and enjoyment of the world. John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer had their audiences and their admirers, and the Shakespeare and Browning societies found opportunities in every hamlet in the

country. I am at a loss to know why there are no writers of equivalent reputation and equivalent consideration contributing now to the cordiality and camaraderie of us all. Why we carry the shop everywhere, and talk of either what we want or what we have or what the other fellow possesses and how he got it. It is very depressing.

But, my friends, I do not despair. On my doctrine of decades I isolate this ten years. I avoid calamity howlers. I expel from my reading desk and my mind the preachers of disorder or destruction or despair. I place my trust, my hope, my optimism in that fine, discriminating, cordial, loving association of the people with each other and of their trust in and courage for the rights and the liberties of all.

ADDRESS OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Celebration at the Lexington Avenue
Opera House of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the
Entrance upon the Ministry of the Reverend
Henry A. Brann, D.D., Rector of St. Agnes'
Church, May 29, 1912.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I participated the other evening in the celebration of the fiftieth birthday of a valued friend. In his personality and in his achievements he eminently deserved the tribute which was paid him. Of his half century, one-half, or twenty-five years, had been passed in youth and preparation, so that his real work was only the half of a half century. But the jubilee, or the fifty years from the commencement of a career, is quite another affair. The fiftieth birthday is frequent, but the rounding out of a half century in one's career, with energies unimpaired and every prospect of future usefulness, is an event.

It is a wonderful privilege to have been an active worker in any department of human endeavor during this half century. Every year of it has been an incentive to renewed effort, and its consummation full of inspiration and pride. We may look over all available records of the past, and, except the birth of Christ, there is no period in which so much has been accomplished for human happiness, for liberty, for prosperity, for the advancement of the individual and the betterment of the world. We are here to congratulate our friend that his activities have been abreast with these achievements and that in his sphere he has been a factor in the best of these results.

I had a conversation with Mr. Gladstone at the zenith of his power. He was reminiscent and, as usual, delightful. He said, "If I had to select from all the half centuries of recorded time the one in which I would have preferred to live and work, I would have chosen the one in which I have lived and worked, because it has been pre-eminently an era of

emancipation." While he did not enlarge upon this, I knew that he referred to religious emancipation in Great Britain, to the abolition of slavery in the Western Hemisphere and the advance of liberal ideas on the Continent. But if he could have lived another quarter of a century and have had 1912 as the end of his fifty years, how much more extraordinary would have been the achievements of the period, for since his time the advance of the world has been unparalleled. The arts, the inventions, the scientific discoveries, the development of resources unknown before, the new uses of electricity and of steam have increased beyond calculation the power of man and the wealth of nations. Emancipation has been more rapid than during the fifty years Mr. Gladstone described. There is no real autocracy left in the world. Many kingdoms have become republics, and kings, where they still seem to have a prominent place, are there because monarchy is held to be the keynote of their institutions, but the power of the monarchy is reduced to registering the will of the people. The extraordinary emancipation of the period since Mr. Gladstone died is the freeing of the mighty forces of nature which have been pent up in the air and in the waters and in the earth from time immemorial. The titanic explosions, which were cyclones and earthquakes and tidal waves, devastating the earth, have been worshiped by savage, barbarian and even civilized peoples in all ages as powers of evils to be placated. The fearless and audacious spirit of scientific investigation has penetrated the secrets of nature, has entered the treasure house in which were kept the forces of the air, of the water and the earth. Most of them now are made the servants and not the masters of man.

Among the latest and most beneficent of the forces wrested from nature is wireless telegraphy. It has been the tragedy of the ocean that great ships have been lost and their fate a mystery never solved. But for the wireless, we would never have known the fate of the *Titanic*, not any of her passengers ever have been saved. The wireless rescued part; if man had done his duty, as he ought, would probably have saved all.

But the wireless taught us another lesson. It has been the claim of the romancers and the idealists that the Christian

teaching of peace and good will among men has made impossible a recreation in any form of the age of chivalry. Real heroism, they say, can only be displayed, its best qualities nourished and preserved upon the battlefield or in combats where armed men risk life and fortune for the cause in which they believe. But the wireless account of what occurred on the *Titanic* shows that in this Christian age there is a heroism purer, higher, greater than that developed in the mad passions which are aroused by the fury of the conflict, the sight of blood and the roar of battle. Mr. and Mrs. Straus refused to be separated. Colonel Astor and Major Butt, knowing that their fate was sealed, doing their best to rescue the women and the children, and, above all, the band, allaying the panic and arousing hope of eternal life, by playing, until submerged by the waves, "Nearer, My God To Thee!" My friends, there is no picture of the brave going to their death which equalled that which came to us on waves through the air.

We have had twenty-seven Presidents of the United States, and Doctor Brann has been carrying on his work under the administration of twelve, or nearly half of them. He had on his desk in his rectory the morning after it was delivered that gem of American oratory—President Lincoln's speech at Gettysburg. His prayers ascended, as is always the case at a new administration, for the watchful care of the Almighty over the life and the official acts of President Grant. His petitions were among the most fervent of those offered all over the land for the preservation of the life, after the attempt to assassinate him, of General Garfield. He has preserved the even tenor of his way, pursued without interruption his duties to his Church and as a citizen during the strenuous times of President Roosevelt. Even with the sound of battle coming to us to-day from all over the country, because of this most original and titanic force in our public life that there has been in these fifty years, the Doctor still has unabated faith that whatever happens is for his own wise purposes under the motto of "God doeth all things well."

Distinguished as have been the surroundings in the many fields of our friend, he has been most happy in having his career at this particular period in his own Church. The Amer-

ican College of Rome has been for fifty years sending out graduates to their appointed work, and it is his privilege to stand at the head of that devoted body of men as first and oldest alumnus.

For many, many years of the Doctor's ministry he had for his superior Leo XIII, who in addition to his ecclesiastical virtues and accomplishments was a great statesman and an accomplished diplomat. I had the honor of a long interview with him. He was a very old man and seemed physically exceedingly frail. I treasure his compliment to me when he said, "You are the President of a great railroad company employing over thirty thousand men. The majority of them are of my Church and not of yours, and I am glad to greet you and thank you that in your administration you make no distinction whatever between those of your faith and those of mine." He has been called the workingman's Pope. His conversation ran upon that subject, upon the desire of his life to bring about better relations between capital and labor. Then suddenly, as if the old fire which had made him a marvellous preacher in his prime was flaming with original luster, he grasped the arms of his chair, blood came to his pallid face, his eyes flashed, his voice was musical, while he said, and this was prophetic, for there was very little of this at that time in the world, "The greatest menace to the welfare of the working man and to the stability of the Church is Socialism. Socialism is the denial of all authority, divine and human. Without authority and without law there can be neither order nor protection of life or property, nor the continuance of Christian civilization."

But I count, as I think our friend must, as one of the greatest blessings of his life that his early career in the ministry was under Archbishop Hughes. Archbishop Hughes broke the traditions which surrounded his sacred office and virtually entered the diplomatic service of the government in the time of its greatest need. The question of the success of the Union was largely dependent upon preventing interference by the great powers of Europe. It was known that these great powers at that time, controlled as they were by monarchical and aristocratic forces, were in favor of the Con-

federacy because they thought that in the breaking up of the Union there would be a check upon the spirit of republican and democratic ideas. The Archbishop visited France and other continental countries, and by his diplomatic ability was a great factor in holding back France and other nations from coming to the aid of the Southern Confederacy.

I think among the best recollections of Doctor Brann must be that he returned on the same ship with the Archbishop. Certainly the discourse of the Archbishop upon his mission or its results upon the necessity of saving the Union and preserving the perpetuity of the Republic of the United States was the opening for the young priest of a university of practical patriotism and good citizenship which began when the ship started and he was graduated when he landed in New York. We all know that during the whole of his life since the Civil War, the good Doctor has been foremost, as far as his office would permit, in every effort leading to good government.

The most frequent of discussions is "What is success?" We all understand what is meant by it for the lawyer or the doctor, for the banker or the merchant, for the artist or the youth struggling in any way for promotion. Seldom, however, is it discussed in relation to the ministry. A successful minister must have qualities which would enable him to advance in law, or in medicine, or in business, or in teaching. No one could build four churches, as the Doctor has done, free them from debt and start them successfully upon their career unless he was a good business man, nor avoid entanglements with contractors and with the owners of the brick and the lumber and the stone and the lime unless he was a good lawyer. No one who has enjoyed the privilege can go through the schools which are maintained by our friend without recognizing his eminence as an organizer and an educator. It is the glory of the ministry that while it is one of sacrifice because the qualities which would make for material success in life or for fame in public life are concentrated solely upon parish work, nevertheless there are compensations which are granted to no other calling.

In a remarkable letter found in the life of Cardinal New-

man, he describes his visit to St. Peter's at Rome. He says, "People are going and coming, talking with this, that and the other; in the meantime people are praying silently, others are kneeling before an altar taking part in a service—all this which is the world of worship and activity and conversation is going on within the walls of the Christian Church; and," he said, "it is splendid, for here is the world granted a place in religion."

In that description is, I think, a revelation of the secret of the success in his work of our friend, Doctor Brann. He has always recognized, and with rare diplomacy and skill has carried out in his mission the idea that the world has a place in religion.

My friends, let us briefly sum up these fifty years. There pass in review the thousands of girls and boys who have been rescued from the slums and made good citizens, good fathers, good wives, good mothers. There are thousands who have entered the sacred bond of matrimony and under the teachings of their pastor have proved that marriage is not a failure, but the greatest blessing upon earth. There are thousands who have been comforted in passing from this world to the next and have felt because of the consolation he administered they were to be received with hope and joy in the great beyond. To-night this procession of the living and the spirits of those who are gone, whether present within this hall or far away over the earth or in the realms above, join in one anthem of praise and thanksgiving for the past and of prayer and hope for the future of our good friend.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW **at the Fourth of July Celebration of the Ameri-** **can Society of London, England, July 4, 1912.**

MR. CHAIRMAN, MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN: It has devolved upon me to propose the sentiment of "The Day We Celebrate." I am very grateful to my lifelong friend, His Excellency the American Ambassador, for his tribute to my venerable years, and I look upon him as a very promising young man. (Laughter.) When he boasts of having, at his first ballot, voted for Abraham Lincoln, I can say I voted four years before for John C. Fremont, the first presidential candidate of our party. I got in the habit in that campaign of 1856 of appearing upon the platform on different occasions, and I have been unable to get over it for fifty-six years. Yet, when our Ambassador alluded so charmingly to the long linger which I have had on the stage, I was afraid that you and my friends at home might liken me to the boy who wrote a letter of twenty pages home from boarding school to his mother and closed with the P. S., "Dear Mother, please excuse my longevity." (Laughter.)

It has been my pleasure to attend Independence Day celebrations in London during the reigns of Queen Victoria, King Edward VII and now to-night. On each of these occasions I could bring the hearty goodwill and respect of the American people for the late Queen, a tribute of good fellowship and camaraderie, continued since his boyhood visit, to the late King and an appreciation of his statesmanship and especially of his uniform and universal friendship for America and Americans. I can say now that these sentiments for the great Queen and the genial and popular King are continued with hopeful prophecy to their successor, King George. (Applause.)

The Ambassador suggested that I report about the recent convention which renominated President Taft. I attended as a delegate the National Republican Presidential Convention at Chicago, leaving it with only time enough to catch the steamer

which brought me here. The daily papers, as never before, were filled with the reports of the proceedings of that convention and, on my sailing day, with predictions of the Democratic gathering at Baltimore. The space left, however, was largely devoted to an almost hysterical advocacy of what is called a "sane and safe," or "safe and soundless," Fourth of July. To one who commenced celebrating these anniversaries seventy-five years ago, this seems to be a tribute to the æstheticism, the dilettantism and the tenderfootism of a degenerate age. Fourth of July without noise is like an electrical display without light, or a lion with organs paralyzed when the time comes for a triumphant roar, or a rooster without a crow. All the American boys of my period, and down until the time when the speaking stage was removed from the academy and the school-room, declaimed that famous speech from Daniel Webster in which he put into the mouth of old John Adams a prophecy and an injunction for the celebration of the Fourth of July. I cannot recall the exact words, but it was about this: that Fourth of July should be celebrated forever with military and civic processions; that its dawn should be greeted with the booming of artillery and the ringing of the church bells; its day with meetings and orations and its night with fire-works and illuminations.

A famous President of the United States, who in early life had an almost hopeless struggle, said to me one day: "Was there ever a period in your career when you would have compromised with the Lord for a moderate certainty and given up all the rest? Because that occurred to me in my struggles, when, if God had only been willing to make the bargain and given me an academy with an endowment that would assure me three thousand dollars a year, I would have surrendered all the rest."

I wonder if any of you have tried to think of the first real overwhelming thrill you ever had in your life. I suppose most of us would connect it with the first application of the parental slipper, or later, in adolescence, with the first kiss. (Laughter.) What an American boy; properly brought up, would associate it with his first independent, self-reliant Fourth of July. Having sat up all night in preparation as the

proud possessor of a three-pound cannon, I planted it on the hill by the old homestead, and when the bell from the belfry of the old Presbyterian Church and the cannon from Drum Hill announced the dawn of the Fourth of July, I touched off my artillery. Blistered hands, powdered cheeks, which lasted for months, eyebrows singed, and general demoralization caused by the kick of the artillery, simply placed me for a moment as a little boy among the soldiers who marched with Washington and camped at Valley Forge. (Applause.)

Perhaps it may not be inappropriate, as future Fourth of July are dependent in a large measure upon the result, to give, as Mr. Reid suggests, a brief report of the great convention.

In the Republican party there have been fifteen of these conventions, and I have attended ten, my first being in 1864 for the second nomination of Abraham Lincoln. In all those gatherings the crowds in the galleries, of men and women from all parts of the country, outnumbered by ten to one the delegates on the floor. They were instinct with enthusiasm, and the magnetism of their ardor affected their representatives upon whom devolved the responsibility of nominating a candidate for President.

The cheers, lasting sometimes for half an hour and sometimes for an hour, for Lincoln in the convention in '64, for Grant in the convention in '68, for Blaine and Sherman and Harrison and Garfield in '80, '84, '88 and '92, for McKinley in 1896 and again in 1900, for Roosevelt in 1904, and Roosevelt and Taft in 1908, were the inspirations of a lifetime.

When I made the speech nominating Harrison for a second term in the Minneapolis Convention in 1892, I inadvertently mentioned his opponent Blaine, and fourteen thousand people in the galleries rose and cheered, with waving handkerchiefs, flags and hats, for forty-five minutes, and when I mentioned President Harrison, for an hour, so that the thirty minutes' address required in its delivery nearly three hours! (Laughter.)

Now the contrast. During all the scenes, and there were many exciting ones, among the delegates in our convention two weeks ago at Chicago, the mention of the historic names

of the party and of the country, like Lincoln, Grant, Garfield, McKinley, elicited no response whatever from the gallery, nor did the names of the candidates arouse enthusiasm. This great crowd was not angry nor sullen, it was indifferent.

At Baltimore the proceedings were prolonged more days than they have been for sixty years in the Democratic party, and a tremendous effort, receiving great support, was made to prevent the votes of the large states in which great business is concentrated and to expel from the convention delegates who represented great business.

What does all this mean on Independence Day? Talking to a distinguished writer within the last few days, he said: "Its parallel is to be found in the calm and mutterings of the storm which preceded the French revolution." But he was entirely wrong. There is not the slightest indication in the United States of a revolution. Never in our history were we farther removed from what might be called the spirit of the French revolution. The rights of the people, collectively and individually, were never so secure. The power of the people, both in the municipalities, in the states, and in the general government, was never so supreme. Prosperity was never so universal; business never so good, never so promising, and opportunity never so hopeful. Labor and capital, each more powerful than ever, are more harmonious than ever. The railway strike which was threatened a month ago, when, if it had eventuated war, for it would have been war, would have stopped the turning of every wheel on every railroad between Chicago and the remotest boundaries of Maine; it would have paralyzed every industry in the Middle and the Atlantic and the Eastern States and brought the great cities, as well as the smaller ones, to starvation. But after free discussion by the representatives of labor and capital, it was settled by submission to peaceful arbitration. (Applause.)

Then, what is the matter? What is the reason for the lack of enthusiasm for the great names of the party or the statesmanship, or the policies of the past and present? Ninety-nine per cent. of the American people are earning their living and adding to their competence or their fortunes by their personal exertions, and the other one per cent. are not neglectful

of civic or industrial duties. We are preeminently a business people. There are opportunities for the profitable investment in new enterprises giving employment to labor and capital of over one hundred millions of dollars, and there is a hundred millions of dollars eager to enter and exploit these fields. But business, which ought to be represented hopefully in politics, has become alarmed about politicians. American enterprise has no fear of its own ability. It is willing to take every risk dependent upon its judgment, but it wishes to know where the line is to be drawn as to the amount of business which will be permitted to be conducted and as to the limits that may be put upon genius for affairs and national and local development. The only trouble with us is the mistakes by the politicians of both parties as to the real, solid, sober temper of the American people. We have become the victims of specialization, but then this is an age of specialization. I admit that the specialists have done wonderful things in various lines. The research work in the Rockefeller and Carnegie Institutes has done much for humanity. They have taken a common "yaller" dog of ignoble birth, and by grafting upon him the organs of canine aristocracy have created a thoroughbred which takes the highest prizes in the dog expositions. (Laughter.)

They are discovering and hope to eliminate the sources of disease and the microbe of old age. It is said that a French specialist has located the microbe of old age, and that presently we shall live forever. That, however, does not make me feel entirely happy when I think of a good many men I know. (Laughter.) Nevertheless, they are dangerous. One of the most eminent surgeons in the country looked me over critically the other day and said: "Senator, I would regard it as the highest honor of my professional career if I could operate on you for appendicitis." (Laughter.) And if I had not been protected he would have strapped me on the table. He ignored the fact that my appendix for nearly seventy-nine years has been performing whatever part it does perform in as healthy and happy a life as any American wants to live.

By the way, one thing occurred at the convention which will be enjoyed by English-speaking people everywhere. There were two men in the gallery, next to one another, one a lum-

berman. When the New York delegation arrived, the other man said: "The New York delegation are all grafters and thieves." "Well," said the lumberman, "there is one who is not—Merritt." "Merritt," said the other, "why he's the Speaker of the House and the biggest of the lot." Said the lumberman: "If you'll step outside we will argue that question, and I think I can convince you that you are wrong." "Right," said the other, and they went outside. One of them gave the policeman five dollars to see it was a fair fight, and when the ambulance was carrying the slanderer of Speaker Merritt to the hospital, he poked his head over the dashboard and said: "Stranger, Merritt is an honest man." (Loud laughter.)

I admire the specialists in discovery who risk their lives to find the North or the South Pole, but I think the world gains more on the material side which adds to the distribution of the products of its labor and general happiness by the opening, the day before yesterday, of the railway station on the site of the palace of Haroun-al-Raschid at Bagdad. We can still let the children lie awake or dream frightful dreams about the Arabian Nights, but the railway in developing new regions gives opportunity for those children, as the world becomes increasingly populated, to add to civilization and the better living of all races.

Perhaps the practical value of finding that mythical flag-staff called the North Pole, which has been the dream of discoverers for a century, was best expressed by a quarrel which I heard in Washington between two very charming women—one an ardent partisan of Dr. Cook and the other of Commodore Peary. Cook's claim had received a very black eye, while Peary's seemed fully established, when the defeated lady remarked, with disgust: "Well, anyhow, Dr. Cook is a gentleman and a liar, but Peary is neither." (Laughter.)

We have a new school of politics with us which has been making very rapid strides in the last few years and is represented in both political parties. It appeals to the unrest which is common all over the world. In Europe it is the unrest of labor; in China it is the awakening of the possibilities of liberty caused by the return of the students from Western civilization. With us in the United States it exists, but its definition is diffi-

cult. The agitators of the new school say to a very busy people absorbed in their ordinary affairs and giving only quadrennially close attention to politics: "You are deprived of your liberties. We will see that they are restored to you. You in your elective capacity through the ballot box should perform the functions of President and courts and congresses and legislatures and municipal bodies. You should initiate laws without the bother of representatives to prepare and perfect them. You should have the power. You should do away with the limitations which enable a decision of the court to stand that you don't like, or a judge to sit on the bench who is unpopular." These hairtrigger philosophers do not know that every one of these schemes was thoroughly thrashed out by those extraordinary and levelheaded men who framed the Constitution of the United States. They had before them the example of a thousand years of history of these experiments and their purpose was to form a government of orderly liberty, to prevent the mad passion of the hour crystallizing into dangerous legislation or revolutionary activities. They placed the common law above Judge Lynch. The briefest but the finest tribute ever paid to the old Constitution was by Mr. Gladstone when he said that it was the greatest instrument ever created at a single session by the mind of man.

During the 125 years since it was adopted the whole world has changed its forms of government, and each change has been towards, as if drawn by a magnet, the liberties secured by that old Constitution of the United States. (Applause.)

The impatient spirit of the new age—the same in China as it is with us—was expressed by the Chinese reformer who called upon an American diplomat at eleven o'clock in the morning and said: "Excuse me if I am somewhat in a hurry, because I have to prepare a constitution for our country to be submitted to the Conclave at two."

The whole spirit of our Constitution, which is now assailed by the Initiative, the Referendum and the Recall, is Representative Government—the delegation by a busy people of the powers of government to their own chosen representatives who, by frequent elections, are subjected and again subjected to a

revision of their work. Above all, the original and yet fundamental idea of American liberty, which came from that convention and into the Constitution, was that there should be an independent judiciary. The Supreme Court of the United States has so interpreted the broad principles of the Constitution and so checked the effort of popular passion to subvert it that the government under a written Constitution, which was sufficient for three millions of people scattered along the Atlantic sea coast at its beginning, is found sufficient today for one hundred millions, peopling and developing a continent.

An English journalist said to me yesterday: "How about Canada?" On this Fourth of July I can say for the American people: We are glad of the relations so mutually prosperous that exist between Canada and the United States. We are glad of the growing prosperity of Canada, but the American people do not want another inch of territory more than they have now anywhere in the world. (Applause.) The Philipinos wanting independence and our navy to protect them in doing what they like, the Porto Ricans wanting immediate citizenship and then statehood, and Cuba not knowing what it wants, but holding us responsible, gives all the trouble outside of our own boundaries which we desire. (Laughter.)

A little story, and a new one, which happily illustrates that representative government still prevails in the United States, came to me the other day. The most promising of the candidates for Congress before the Congressional Convention had selected a friend to make the speech presenting his name. When the time came for nominations he was so nervous and the preliminary proceedings so long that he went out frequently for liquid refreshment. While he was absent his friends found a more eloquent advocate to present his name. When he returned this stranger, to him, was describing in glowing terms the qualifications of his candidate. The candidate, not knowing it was himself who was presented, turned to his friend whom he thought was to make the nominating speech and said: "For heaven's sake, when that man sits down withdraw my name. If there is any cuss before this convention as a candidate who possesses the qualifications

which this speaker is describing, I am not in his class.”
(Laughter.)

Well, gentlemen, I have celebrated the Fourth of July many and many a time at home and in different parts of our country. I graduated on the 26th of June, 1856, from Yale and delivered the oration at Peekskill on the fourth of July, and I have been at it ever since. I have joined in the celebration in many countries of Europe and several times upon the sea, but it is peculiarly appropriate and never more appropriate than now, that this celebration should be in the great metropolis of the British Empire. It emphasizes the perpetuity of the friendship which now exists and always will exist between the British Empire and the United States. It emphasizes the fact that every difference which could possibly lead to trouble between us has been settled through the medium of diplomacy and arbitration. It emphasizes the fact that each is proud of the growth, the strength, the power and development of the other. It emphasizes the fact that there is a great mission in this world for peace and humanity and that this mission is largely in the custody of English-speaking peoples.
(Loud applause.)



SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Annual Banquet Celebrating the 144th
Anniversary of the Chamber of Commerce, Held
at Waldorf-Astoria, November 21, 1912.

President Claflin in introducing Senator Depew said: "Our final toast to-night is 'Theory and Experience.' The response will be by an old friend, an ever youthful friend, one whose youth seems perennial even as that of the Chamber itself. We have loved him and honored him for years and we welcome him to-night with joy—the Honorable Chauncey M. Depew." (Applause.)

Mr. Depew:

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I have been introduced many times in the course of my long career, but this is the first time it has ever been suggested that my age was coeval with the one hundred and forty-four years of the Chamber of Commerce. (Laughter.)

Of those years the present year of 1912 is one of the most important and interesting. We cover a wide field, and it is our duty to consider everything which affects our foreign and domestic commerce and business generally.

Three events of the highest importance are uppermost in our minds—this terrific war between the Balkans and Greece, on the one hand, and Turkey on the other, which threatens to involve the great powers and will certainly change the map of Europe; next, the International Congress and Boards of Trade of most of the commercial cities of the world who held their sessions in our country and were the guests of this Chamber; and, lastly, the government of the United States for the third time in fifty-six years passing into the hands of the Democratic party.

All the power and influence of the Chamber of Commerce of New York have been given to the efforts, so strenuously made in recent years, to promote the peace of the world. Until within a few months it seemed as if the peace movement had made more progress than in all preceding time, and the

prospects of early success were very great. Suddenly a war breaks out which proves how unstable are the relations between nations. A savage contest, which was decided by battle for the Turks six hundred years ago, is suddenly renewed after six centuries in one of the bloodiest wars of modern times. This war illustrates how near the nations are at all times to a sudden and violent appeal for the settlement of their difficulties and the gratification of their passion, by the arbitrament of the sword.

An American woman writes that she stood beside King Nicholas of Montenegro when he gave the order for his son to fire the cannon, the shell from which exploded soon after in the camp of the Turks on the other side of the valley. Within four weeks fifty thousand men were dead or wounded. The victorious hosts were battling with their defeated but defiant and stubborn enemies day after day, the armies of all countries of Europe were mobilizing and their navies put in active commission, and the only barrier to the most terrific and destructive war of modern times was the will and power of the Emperor of Germany and the Premier of Great Britain. The exchanges and the markets of Europe and Asia were facing possibilities and experiencing revolutionary changes which had not occurred since the time of the first Napoleon. It is within recent recollection of everybody here present that the United States became a world power and as such interested in this revolution. Nothing illustrates our happy situation better than that while we are in it we are not of it. If the Emperor and the Premier were unable either to prevent others or keep their own countries out of the conflict, happily nothing could drag us into it. But this situation has a pregnant lesson for us. It shows that, after all has been done and is being done for peace between nations, the unexpected may happen at any time. It demonstrates that for our peace, for our commerce, for the protection of our coasts and maintenance of our proper position in the world without war, our fleet should be kept up to a standard adequate to the necessity of any situation in which we may be placed. (Applause.)

The meeting in our country of the commercial representatives of all nations was one of the agencies for peace, but

it also demonstrated that we are to be more and more dependent as years go by upon our share in the commerce of the world. While government farms were plenty and free for the settler, we could live happily in continental isolation, but now the situation is changed. From almost purely agricultural we have become more largely a manufacturing people. A gathering of the representatives of all the activities and industries of Europe within our borders was not only a revelation to them, but a university for commercial education to us. Their amazement and interest were not so much as to the size and development and resources of our country as to our wonderful internal commerce. Here was the greatest market in the world. Here were more money and more material exchanged than in almost all the rest of the world put together. Here was an internal commerce between the states which was more than double that of their foreign commerce with each other and with all the rest of the world. I met many of them, and their eagerness to share in the commercial possibilities of our forty-eight states amounted almost to hysteria. (Laughter and applause.)

A question of supreme importance, and one in which this Chamber is most deeply interested, is how far and on what terms and on what basis our doors shall be thrown open. Shall this mighty question be decided by theory or by experience? We are all glad, however, to see our visitors and there is no doubt but that the results will be beneficial to us all.

A little incident occurred recently to me which shows that after all we are close together. The sense of humor and its development is one of the tests of human relationship. When I was in London last summer a successful banker said to me, "How was the weather on the continent this summer?" "Well," I said, "it was so cold in the hottest place in France that I had to put a spirit lamp under the bulb of the thermometer to raise it to sixty Fahrenheit." He said, "Just fancy." (Laughter.)

I was in Boston a few weeks since, and on our way in the taxi to the hotel we passed by the Common where the Italians were celebrating some festival with fireworks and bombs. A well-known citizen of Boston who met me said,

"You have not been to our city recently?" I said, "No, but the cordiality of our reception here to-night was exceedingly gratifying to me and touched me very deeply, with the fireworks illuminating the sky and the exploding bombs filling the air on our arrival." He said, "I assure you, sir, that they were not for you at all." (Laughter.)

In these two instances we see the link which Gladstone so happily mentioned of the tie that binds us with our kin across the sea. (Laughter.)

Last week the papers recorded that a lady arrived at Joplin, Mo., who was 113 years of age, and she was accompanied by her youngest son who was 85. She remarked, as a reason for her visit, that neither she nor any of her family had ever seen a railroad, a trolley car, an electric light, or a moving picture show. Inquired of as to the rest of her family, she said that she had left her eldest son at home to take care of the other children, her oldest being 95. (Laughter.) Now, I am not so old as this good lady, and unlike her I have had some experience in the world. I closed a vigorous campaign in 1856, during which I had for three months made the platform ring with eloquence for Fremont and freedom, to wake up the morning after election to the victory of Buchanan. Buchanan's administration and its disastrous results were the inspiration of political oratory and Republican party success for many a year, but looking back calmly over the intervening years and recalling the situation as it was at that period, I think that we have done injustice to President James Buchanan. He was a statesman fully capable of the duties of Chief Magistrate in normal times, but unequal to them in periods of revolution. As in the East, the forces of the Crescent and the Cross, which have been facing one another for six hundred years, have now come to settlement by arms which all the powers of the world could not stop, so at that time the battle of the ages between freedom and slavery had reached its culmination. Buchanan did the best he could, with his lights, to avert the catastrophe, but it was not in human power to do it.

In 1892 the Democratic party came into power with Grover Cleveland as President. I knew Cleveland both at

the bar and as President. I offered him the attorneyship of the New York Central Railroad at Buffalo, which included the large business at that time of the western terminal of the New York Central lines, and told him that he could retain his own business at the same time, and that his income would be more than doubled by the assumption of the post. His answer convinced me that he was a very strong and a very remarkable man. He said, "I am now earning enough for my needs, and no amount of money could tempt me to add to the hours of my work or the diminution of the days of my play." He always claimed that the difficulties of his administration were two things: one that he was the heir of the financial and industrial disturbance which had grown out of the surrender of the country to the silver craze; the other that he was betrayed in his policies by a minority of his own party sufficiently strong to prevent his carrying out what he believed would, in practice, have been for the best interest of the country. However, as things go in a country which is governed by parties, every administration is judged by its results and not by its intentions. Nevertheless, I believe that it is already the calm judgment of history that one of the ablest and certainly one of the most courageous of the Presidents of the United States was Grover Cleveland. (Applause.)

Now Governor Wilson enters upon the Presidency with none of the difficulties which surrounded Buchanan and none of the handicaps which troubled Cleveland. The political sea was never so calm and the political skies were never so propitious. In the midst of war we are at peace with all the world with no dangers threatening from abroad. Our internal conditions are as good if not better than they have ever been. A "bumper" crop, unequalled in the history of our harvests, is to add to our national and individual wealth. Our internal trade is of unequalled volume, and with the movement of this crop to be largely increased. The mill and the furnace are running on full time. Labor was never so fully employed, nor with wages so high. The farm was never receiving such returns. Our exports and imports were never so large and the balance of trade in our favor runs into the millions of dollars. Our only scarcity is of labor in many of

our industrial centers. There never was a better time when practical experiments with long-cherished theories could be carried out with less danger or with more benefit, if the theories are correct. (Applause.)

The mission of the hour seems to be to reduce the high cost of living, without lessening the opportunities for earning a living. The experimenters must bear carefully in mind the lesson taught by the well-known epitaph upon the tombstone in the country churchyard, "I was well. I wanted to be better. I took physic and here I am." (Laughter.)

While I belong to the opposite school of economic principles from that of the successful party, I do not see how it is possible for that party to fail to try the merits of its principles, its platform and its promises. We hear much in the vocabulary of politics of the mandate of the people. Taft and Roosevelt stood for a tariff for protection and Wilson for a tariff for revenue only. The combined vote for Taft and Roosevelt is a million and a half more than that for Wilson. Nevertheless, under our system of government, by which pluralities and not majorities are required, the Baltimore platform and its advocates are in the possession of every branch of the government and the mandate is to carry out their promises. All business men, and I am looking at these questions now only from the business standpoint, insist that the work shall be begun at the earliest possible moment and finished in the quickest possible time. The trained American business mind fears no conditions when factors are thoroughly understood. The genius of American enterprise, the optimism of the American spirit, the confidence in American judgment, have pulled us through many a panic, repaired the losses of the troublous times, and placed our business again upon firm foundations, and with prospering and prosperous conditions. The only one thing which the American business man cannot meet is uncertainty. The business men of the country pulled us triumphantly through the depression of '95 and '96, and a few of the captains of industry, placing patriotically at the service of their country their reputations, their acknowledged ability and their fortunes, pulled us safely through the panic of 1907. But in both these instances con-

ditions were known. There were no uncertainties about the factors. The only question was the existence of ability to meet them. With the results of the election, the danger to the judiciary and the recall of the judges has ceased to be a question. It will continue to exist probably in that marvelous city of Seattle as an object lesson. There it takes a majority to elect a mayor, but a small per cent. can put him on the recall. The result is that the highest office of that municipality is a greased plank. (Laughter.) It takes a majority to put the citizen to the top and less than a quarter of the vote may pull him down to the bottom, and the procession goes merrily on for the gaiety of nations and the booming of Seattle.

President Wilson in numberless speeches has felicitously put the remedies which he proposed instead of the drastic ones which are declared in his platform. He repeats before and after election, and we know that he believes what he says, that he can take all the evils there are in the tariff out without interfering with the business of the country, and he can suppress the evils there are in the trusts without disturbing labor or capital. I am sure that all of us, of all parties, wish him Godspeed, and we of all parties trust that theory may be so chastened by experience, and experience so liberalized by theory that the net results of the measures and policies of the incoming administration will be the continuance and the improvement of the happy business conditions of the country in which we rejoice to-night. (Loud Applause.)

ADDRESS OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Exercises at the Republican Club of New
York, in Memory of the late James S. Sherman,
Vice-President of the United States, Sunday,
November 24, 1912.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS: We all loved Jim Sherman. I never knew any man who was so long in public life, with the jealousies and animosities which are incident to such a career, who enjoyed to such an unusual degree the affection of his fellow citizens of both parties. His career may be one of the few exceptions to the rule that a man is not without honor except in his own country. For twenty-two years his neighbors who knew him best kept returning him to the House of Representatives, and doubtless this tribute would have been paid him so long as he lived had he not been promoted to the Vice-Presidency, the second office in the gift of the people of the United States. Those who knew him intimately, and they hailed from every State and Territory, never addressed him as "Congressman Sherman" or "Vice-President Sherman," but they all came under the influence of that irresistible manner of his which made one feel that there was established with the Congressman or the Vice-President a most chummy relation which only exists among college classmates. He was the most popular undergraduate at Hamilton College during his college course, and he carried with him through life the youthful feeling of cordiality, of generosity, or unshaken confidence in his fellows, which kept enlarging as he grew older into cordial intimacy and affection which with most students end with graduation.

But we must, on an occasion like this, look beyond the personal characteristics of our friend in the effort to form an estimate of what gave him his promotion and distinction in public life; what were the ambitions by which he secured so large a degree of the confidence and esteem of the American people. Environment and heredity have most to do in the formation of character and in the making of a career. He

had an heredity which molded his mind and predestined his career. But he lived also all his life in an environment which taught freedom and crystallized his opinions upon public questions. He was born and passed his whole life in one neighborhood, which is part of that remarkable valley of the Mohawk that extends from Albany to Buffalo. He had seen settlements for manufacture start upon those fertile farms and then become prosperous villages and grow into important cities. He had seen these manufacturing centers constantly expanding in the value of their output, in the enlargement of their facilities, in the extension of their markets, in the increase of population and in the general and extraordinary prosperity. All this had happened under his eye while he was progressing from boyhood to youth, from youth to manhood and from manhood to middle age. He had seen the wonderful effects of the development of water power, which had created happy communities out of what had been before a wilderness. His studies naturally led to an inquiry into the sources of this development which had attracted the attention not only of the people of the State, but of the whole country. As his investigations and observations extended he became firmly convinced that these were all due to a policy of government, and that that policy was the protection of the American manufacturer and giving him so far as possible the possession of the American market. In his travels abroad and in his close examination of conditions in other countries he came to the conclusion, so fixed in his mind that it amounted to a religion, that the American market was the best market in the world and the largest, that the stability of our institutions and American citizenship of a high type depended upon so protecting that market for American labor and capital that competition with conditions so different in other highly organized industrial nations should not be able to deteriorate the standard of American wages and living. This was the fundamental principle of all his political career and the active motive of his life. At a time when that idea had become so unpopular with a percentage of the press of the United States, he supported it, imperiling his renomination for the Vice-Presidency, which he intensely desired, both for the honor, and because it would

make him the only one in the long line of Vice-Presidents to whom that honor had come, by emphatically stating in his speech of acceptance and in a speech preceding his nomination his views upon this question in a way which his associates and friends thought unnecessary, but he was determined that if re-elected the people of the United States should be in no doubt as to what he regarded as essential to the prosperity and future of the country.

His speech of acceptance and a message given later in the canvass are among the notable incidents in our political history of a man when the tide is turning otherwise against his opinions daring to risk everything rather than have his countrymen mistaken as to his views and policies which he would, if possible, carry out.

He died as he had lived and worked in the advocacy of these industrial policies.

The period of his service in Congress of twenty-two years was for our financial and industrial stability among the most critical in our history. With the close of the Civil War, we encountered all the difficulties of the formation of a new government. New conditions arose which had never existed before. The problem of the accumulation of great wealth and its proper distribution, so far as legislation could legitimately affect it, was an urgent problem. The creation of great corporations and their combination into greater ones, necessitated by competition and the need of economy in administration, presented other problems. The sectional difficulty had been settled, but these questions which grew out of extraordinary prosperity were the ones to be solved. It was a period of experiment from the day he entered Congress until he took the office of Vice-President, and when the crucial period arrived during the administration of President Cleveland for a trial of a new experiment different from the one in which he believed he had reached a place among the leaders of the House of Representatives. It is the peculiarity of all representative bodies and of every association that they are governed by leaders. The average man may rise and reach Congress because he is a leader in his locality, but when he comes to exercise the larger duties which devolve upon him

as a Representative, he finds it is easier to have others in whom he has confidence do his thinking than to do it himself, because with most men the most difficult task, the hardest work in the world and the most tiresome is to think and to think hard.

During this period about six men led the House of Representatives, and they were led in their turn by two very remarkable and masterful statesmen, Speaker Reed and Speaker Cannon. Mr. Sherman was one of this group during all this critical time, and up to the period of his promotion from the House of Representatives to the Vice-Presidency, he was a leader in the great fight against the effort to make silver the standard of value, either by its own merit or by some standard of union with gold, and also of the experiment with President Cleveland, so earnestly attempted, of getting rid of the principle of the protection of American industry and reducing the tariff to a revenue basis.

After the disastrous panic from 1894 to 1896 he was intimately associated with McKinley and with Dingley in changing the legislation upon this question, and his constructive ability was largely instrumental in the framing of what was known as the Dingley Tariff Bill, which reversed the policy of the preceding administration and placed the country again upon a high protective basis. There followed for about eight years a development of our national resources, the extension of our railway systems, the addition to our industrial output, the settlement of new lands, the government of new territories, and the further accumulation of power in corporations and individuals which led to almost revolutionary legislation and a period of great unrest in the public mind. Everyone who shared in this prosperity came to believe, under the influence of a remarkable agitation in powerful sections of the press and many political agitators, that while they were better off than ever before they had not received their full share of this extraordinary development of prosperity and wealth. So strong and deep-seated was this conviction of a wrong which could not be accurately defined, that nearly every public man in the country saw how much his popularity could be increased and how much it depended upon adding fuel to the fire. The most remarkable part of our friend's career is the manner and

the courage with which he resisted these temptations. No one in public life knew better the trend of current opinion, and no one was more capable of becoming one of its leaders or exponents. He had, however, no sympathy whatever with destructive policies of any kind. His mind was constructive and his ineradicable optimism made him cling persistently to the policies and motives which he believed had produced the conditions in the country in which all rejoiced, though they might not think they had got their share. He was an individualist. He had worked out his own career, with no advantageous surroundings or help, and he believed everyone could do the same according to his abilities. He admired intensely the man who had succeeded far greater than himself in politics or in business, but at the same time he believed that they deserved what they had won, and that it was due to remarkable ability, with the free opportunities that could only come where opportunities were so free as existed in the United States. Envy had no place in his composition. He was pre-eminently what is known as a stand-patter and proud of it. He lost no opportunity upon the platform or in the press of acquainting his fellow citizens with his views. There might be doubt about others, Senators and Congressmen might waver, candidates might sit upon the fence or straddle it, but no one ever doubted where could always be found the Vice-President. Scores of able men in public life who were equally courageous during this craze were driven out and consigned to private life. It is a marvel how he retained his hold and popularity. But the same qualities which made his countrymen call him "Sunny Jim," dissipated all enmity and disarmed opposition. It is most remarkable that at this peculiar and critical juncture such a man could have won without opposition this coveted honor of the second nomination to the second highest office in the gift of the people.

Now, my friends, what is a stand-patter anyway? He is never praised, but generally abused. He is attacked as an obstructionist. He is said to stand in the way of progress and to be the enemy of reform. But an intelligent and courageous stand-patter is a wise reformer who does not believe that all change is reform. He is a beneficent progressive who be-

lieves that progress is the law of nations and of individuals, but along demonstrated lines, and not either by excursions into the unknown or the repetition of experiments which have proved failures wherever tried.

I have spoken of heredity as influencing character, and the stand-patism in our friend came from the strain of Puritanism which he inherited from old Captain John Sherman of Cromwell's Army, who was his ancestor as well as mine, and who came over, because of his faith which he would not surrender, among the early Puritans of Massachusetts. That Puritan strain kept him firm in the faith, both in speech and in practice, and while he had become to an extraordinary degree, unlike his ancestor, one of the most genial, companionable and lovable of men, nevertheless, like his ancestor, he would have gone to the stake for a dogma in religion or into obscurity for a principle in politics.

Lincoln was a stand-patter in his time. He resisted all the passionate and violent forces of his day. The Abolitionists, led by William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips, had no faith in him as a candidate for the Presidency, while, after he became President, it was only because he was the most remarkable man of his time that he was able to resist the radical assaults of Senator Wade and Thaddeus Stevens in Congress and Horace Greeley in the press. The most remarkable stand-patism in Mr. Lincoln's administration was his resistance for nearly three years of a determination so strong to make him issue his Emancipation Proclamation that impeachment was freely discussed among the more advanced of the radicals.

I have all my life been a close observer of legislation, from early participation as a member of the Legislature and subsequent study and twelve years in the United States Senate. I was in the Legislature of our State fifty-one years ago. During my second term I was for one session of the Legislature, while the Speaker was unable to perform his duty, the Acting Speaker of the New York Assembly. The House was evenly divided between both parties. The position of Speaker was a most difficult one, and it gave me an interest in the office and an understanding of its requirements which have lasted me through life. I have an exceeding admiration for anybody

who can acceptably perform the duties of the presiding officer of a deliberative body. Such a place requires more tact, skill, quick judgment and instantaneous decision than any other place in public life. The presiding officer must have the support not only of his political friends, but he must enjoy the confidence of his political enemies, because of his fairness and judicial temperament, and he must possess almost the temper of an angel.

The greatest Speakers I have ever known, and I had the opportunity of knowing much of them, were James G. Blaine and Thomas B. Reed. They had not only an acquired talent, but a positive genius for this office, but they lacked the one essential which made the success of Sherman. Reed raised fierce and violent antagonisms so passionate that if he had not had a great political majority with him, he could not have held his place. Blaine had geniality to a remarkable degree, but he failed to have that hold upon his political opponents by that indescribable college chumminess which characterized Sherman's relations with all men.

In the Senate we have no rules. Mr. Sherman had been chosen by different Speakers in the House of Representatives to act in their place when they left the chair and to preside over the Committee of the Whole. The House is governed by a collection of rules which are very rigid and a line of precedents which fills volumes. It was a most difficult thing for Mr. Sherman to be taken from a place like that to preside over a body which is governed practically by no rules whatever, but is a rule unto itself. Senators, especially the older ones, resent any effort on the part of the chair to curb their wanderings or the carrying out of their own, sometimes very unregulated, wills. One of the strongest men in the Senate, as well as one of the most quarrelsome, took a position, was called to order and the Vice-President decided against him. The Senator instantly declared that the independence of the Senate had been invaded by the Vice-President, who was not a member of the Senate, but only its Constitutional presiding officer; that he had no right to use a position which was largely one of courtesy to violate the traditions of the most august body in the world and deny, or attempt to deny, to a Senator the rights to

which every Senator was entitled. It was a personal attack; it was a bitter one. The scene was dramatic. The situation was very tense. Most presiding officers would have lost their temper, or at least shown heat. It was a studied effort to humiliate the Vice-President. Sherman's attitude was perfect. There was not the slightest indication in his manner or speech that the personal element was in his thought. He was the presiding officer personified. With perfect calmness, good humor and dignity, he stated the case to a breathless Senate. He did it so clearly and convincingly that the Senate sat down upon the tumultuous Senator, and Sherman's decisions were never after questioned.

The study of Vice-Presidents has been to me always an interesting one. I knew Mr. Hamlin, the Vice-President during Mr. Lincoln's first term, and all of them since. The Vice-Presidency is not an ideal position. It was placed in the Constitution to provide an heir to the Presidency. Curiously enough the framers of the Constitution never looked to the contingency of both President and Vice-President dying. That has been remedied only within recent years. In seeking to find some duties for the Vice-President, it was finally decided to make him the presiding officer of the Senate, with no power except to vote when there was a tie. It requires a statesman of unusual gifts to sustain with dignity this position, and have no portion of the power which apparently should belong to the second highest office in the country. A father encourages his son and heir to prepare himself for his place and the administration of his estate, but Presidents want to succeed themselves for at least one term and resent any prominence or popularity which might make a Vice-President a competitor. So Presidents are almost always jealous of the Vice-President, and keep him at a distance. They rarely want his advice, and they do not want him to share in any way in the responsibilities or in the fame of the acts of the administration. This is not peculiar to our Presidents. I have known the heirs to the throne of several countries in Europe. There is no position so difficult. The sovereign is never on good terms with his heir. The older the sovereign grows the more distasteful becomes the activities of the son who is to be his successor. It

requires the rarest tact and forbearance for the son to keep even on good social relations with his father, the Emperor or the King, or his mother, the Queen. I remember, because I knew him so well, the difficulties which surrounded the late King Edward in this respect. His mother was a most masterful and capable ruler, but as she grew older she became more jealous of the prerogatives of the throne. Her son for a quarter of a century was old enough and capable of being King, and it is one of the highest tributes to his diplomatic ability that he could have considerable influence and still so adjust himself to the situation as not to arouse the jealousies of his mother. Presidents do not welcome Vice-Presidents to Cabinet consultations or conferences at the White House. Nothing is so disturbing, I might almost say offensive, to a President as to have it generally understood that some measure of administration, some suggestion to the Congress, some policy enunciated, came from the Vice-President. It has been said that the only exception to this rule was Hobart. Mr. Hobart was a most agreeable gentleman, with wonderful tact and ability of self-effacement, while McKinley, on the other hand, was one of the most sweet tempered and amiable of men. Undoubtedly Mr. Hobart was oftener in the White House and in consultation with the President than any of his predecessors, but when this fact became exaggerated in the press into a common statement that the Vice-President was consulted on all questions and his advice in a measure potential, it so annoyed the President that it would not have been long before this cordial relation was terminated. Sherman had been in Congress through many administrations and thoroughly understood this situation. He never attempted in any way to influence or direct the administration of President Taft. He was always ready for consultation, but never let it be known that he had been consulted. If a conference had occurred where his view had been accepted, he would have been the first to assert, if the question had been raised, that the conclusions arrived at were the final judgment of the President himself.

Mr. Sherman enjoyed life in every phase. He had the rarest of social gifts. But his popularity was not dependent upon these. He was an indefatigable worker for his party

or for his friends, but the hold which he had upon all who knew him was not dependent upon these. Everyone who knew him at all knew the wonderful fidelity, persistence and strength of his friendships. He would go farther and risk more to befriend a friend in whom he believed, but who was for the moment under a cloud, than almost any man in public life. The steadfastness which characterized his adherence to his political opinions was equally strong in his personal relations. By reason of these exceptional qualities, he has joined the majority regarded and mourned by a multitude of friends. But beyond this generation he will live. There are two kinds of men who rise to distinction: one is the genius who is governed by no rules, the other is the man who is governed by rules the same as others, but somehow he is exceptional. Precisely what makes him exceptional it is difficult to discover. Among his friends are many who are as able and as cultured, whose character is as high, and whose work is as good, and yet in a way which they could not explain he is their superior. In other words, he is an exceptional man.

Mr. Sherman was one of the finest representatives of this class. He knew how to do or to say the right thing at the right time. He knew how to differ with others, and to differ radically, and at the same time retain a whole-hearted and cordial relationship even with those who could not agree with him. It was his gift to have the confidence in a rare degree of those who differed with him because they never distrusted him. His career will always be a bright one in the history of our State, and in the story of our Vice-Presidents he will always hold a unique and distinguished place.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

at the Luncheon of the New York State Society of the Cincinnati, at the Metropolitan Club, November 25, 1912, in Celebration of the Evacuation of New York by the British Army, November 25, 1783.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: Critics of our ancient and honorable Society say that we exist for no other purpose than to perpetuate, on the principle of heredity, the founders of our organization. This meeting is ample refutation of such a charge. The educational value of celebrating, by appropriate service, the leading events of the Revolutionary War by annual meetings on their natal day cannot be overestimated. One of the defects of our school system is its failure to emphasize the foundation of the Republic, the principles which have been won by the success of the Revolutionary War and the names and the merits of founders and the principles of the Constitution.

There is no more picturesque event in our annals than the evacuation of this country by the British Army after the successful close of the Revolutionary War. The seven years' struggle was over in the triumph of the colonies and the foundation of the Republic. The terms of peace had been ratified, and it was only necessary to arrange the preliminaries for the departure of the enemy from our shores. They were enemies no longer because amicable relations had been established between the mother country and the colonies by the recognition of the independence of the latter. The American Army was in camp at Newburgh, under the command of General Washington, and the British Army at New York, under the command of Sir Henry Clinton. It was arranged that these two generals should meet at Dobbs Ferry, which was about midway between their two camps. To those who were born upon the banks of the Hudson, and whose ancestors were involved in the struggle, this meeting was of unusual interest. The place had long been known as about the center of what

was called the neutral ground. It was the little territory between the outlying posts of either army which was constantly raided by irregulars of both. Within a short distance was Sleepy Hollow, where André had been captured by the three famous farmers of Westchester, Paulding, Williams and Van Wort. This event, as much as any other, had contributed to the salvation of the patriot cause. The two generals undoubtedly approached the place by the Albany Post Road, which is still the main source of communication along the Hudson. Both armies had tramped over it in victory and defeat many times during the course of the struggle. Every foot of it was familiar to the American staff and soldiers, as it was also to that of their armies. I doubt if any automobile could have gotten over it in that early day. For seven years it had been absolutely neglected, and, in its best state, was anything but an ideal highway. But to the bold riders who were to meet at Dobbs Ferry, the surface of the roadway was of little moment.

To-day this historical highway witnesses a procession far different from the American and British soldiers, the cowboys and the skimmers who alternately and frequently marched over it during the seven years of revolution. The marchers of to-day believe they are tramping for a cause as vital as the one for which Washington fought. They are thirty-five militant suffragettes, with flags and banners and trumpets, on their way to Albany to capture the Governor and Legislature. It is a picturesque procession which would have interested and surprised General Washington and Sir Guy Carlton during their interview at Dobbs Ferry.

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At Dobbs Ferry they paused to view the historic spot where was arranged the Evacuation of New York by the British Army, its occupancy by the American Army and the successful close of the Revolution and the placing of the new Republic upon sure foundations built by their valor and cemented by their blood. Thirty of the militant ladies remained at Dobbs Ferry, while five bravely marched on.

The ribald and unsympathetic press reported that the dropping out of the thirty-five was due to fatigue and exhaustion. We know that is a libel upon these fair, coura-

geous women. They staid to study the history of Dobbs Ferry.

An unsuccessful attack has been made for many years upon this historic name. An enterprising citizen of Colonial Westchester had established a ferry across the river from the Westchester side to Nyack on the Rockland side on the west. To inform the public of this means of communication, he had posted at the landing a sign, painted by himself, "Dobbs, His Ferry." The fact that the Commanders-in-Chief of the two armies met here for the purpose of arranging the details of the evacuation of New York, of its possession by the Continental Army, of all that it signified for the present and the future of our country and to unborn generations ought to arouse and to intensify local pride in the preservation of such an historic spot. But for years the Post Office Department has been besieged to change the name to some high-sounding suburban title. Some want it called a Manor, after an old English estate, while others would give to it a romantic designation, gathered from the pages of some popular novel whose heroine had attracted their attention. However, the sturdy old families, whose ancestors have been there during the storm and stress of the perilous times of the Revolution, have been able so far to resist these wealthy newcomers, many of whom have no ancestors connected with the glorious days of Washington and the Continental Army. As a Westchester man, with a Westchester ancestry running back to the first settlement of the county and the purchase of land from the Indians, it was one of my most agreeable duties during the years I was United States Senator to prevent the obliteration of this historic name and its associations. If an event of such supreme importance, connected with the origin of any country in Europe had happened at any spot within its borders, it would be a place of pilgrimage for all succeeding generations, and the neighbors instead of wishing to change it, that there might be upon their notepaper a more high-sounding designation, would have rejoiced that they lived in a neighborhood so classic, and look upon the spot, where the commanders of the opposing armies met, with reverential awe.

The neutral ground of which Dobbs Ferry was the cen-

ter was raided repeatedly by the irregulars of both armies. Two of my grandfathers, both of whom served in the American Army during the war, owned farms in this territory and were acute sufferers. As illustrating how long the passions of the Revolution survived, the day after I was admitted to the bar my father gave me a list of names with the admonition that I must never trust any of them; that if witnesses they would be liars, and if litigants have unworthy cases, and if jurymen always to be challenged, because their fathers or grandfathers were Tories during the Revolution.

This meeting between General Washington and Sir Henry Clinton had its counterpart many years afterward. They were both of the same race and blood. The one was the commander of the forces of the government which had been supreme in the land from its first settlement, and the other the commander of the forces in revolution against that government which had succeeded. Eighty-two years passed, during which the young Republic, recognized then at Dobbs Ferry, had grown to be one of the most powerful nations of the world, when there was another meeting between two generals, one representing the sovereign power of the nation and the other representing the people who were in revolution against its authority. In this case the place was not Dobbs Ferry, New York, but it was Appomattox, Virginia. In the first instance the revolution had been successful; in the second, the revolution had failed. The leaders in the first meeting were General Washington and Sir Henry Clinton; in the second, General Ulysses S. Grant and General Robert E. Lee. The issue of the first of these great meetings was the formation of the new Republic and launching it upon its mission as an independent nation. The issue of the second meeting, eighty-two years afterward, was the reuniting of the partially broken Union and the reestablishment of the Republic upon a surer foundation and with a larger measure of freedom, opportunity and hopefulness than ever before.

The gathering, as always between great soldiers, must have been largely reminiscent, for Washington had been long an officer in the Colonial forces, serving under the British flag and associating with the British Army, and the incidents

of the campaign, so fresh to each of them, were memorable and undoubtedly furnished material for a conversation much longer than the preliminaries which were easily arranged. Sir Henry very properly thought that his army should remain until the meridian. It was a happy suggestion that until the sun has passed toward the setting, the old order of things should remain, and the army representing the old government should still be upon British soil, but when the sun started onward toward its setting, then should the march begin of that evacuation, which should signify and illustrate the setting of the sun of any foreign power within the limits of the new Republic.

A little incident indicates that humor had taken the place of animosity between the two armies. The flagstaff at Fort George on the battery had been greased by the departing British soldiers to make it as difficult as possible for the American to climb and raise the American standard. However, the enjoyment which they expected from this practical joke was spoiled by the ingenuity and agility of an American sailor. He succeeded in reaching the top of the flagstaff, and the last detachment of British soldiers which entered their boats to join their ships saw the American flag floating from the top of the greased pole, from which their own standard had been lowered an hour before.

Seven years before the entry of the Continental Army into New York it had been driven from the island, and its retreat had been along the same highway upon which it returned in triumph seven years later. When one recalls the privations and hardships of the revolutionary soldiers during this long war, their sufferings from lack of food and clothing, as well as the perils which they had encountered, one can well imagine the elation, the enthusiasm and the elastic step with which they made their triumphal entry into our metropolitan city.

It was on that day that our Society of the Cincinnati had its first banquet. The British fleet had passed the narrows and were out of sight when Governor Clinton gave a dinner to the American officers at Fraunce's Tavern. The Cincinnati Society had been formed by General Washington in the

camp at Newburgh on the fourth of July, 1783, and on the twenty-fifth of November, 1783, the Governor of the State of New York, who was also a Brigadier General in the Continental Army, gave this dinner to Washington and his officers. All of them were members of the newly formed Society of the Cincinnati. No such banquet has ever been held in our country. The war was over, and these veterans were to bid each other good-bye, never to be again reunited, and to return to their homes. The Republic, for which they had fought seven years, was now a recognized sovereignty among the nations of the world, but the problems of organization and of government for the Thirteen Colonies cast a gloom upon the gathering. These veterans, who were both soldiers and statesmen, knew that there were before them perils as great as those from which their valor had rescued the country. In the next five years of trial and experiment with government this adventure came near being wrecked. Failure attended the preliminary trials until finally the Constitution, as we have it to-day, was adopted by that extraordinary convention over which General Washington presided. Its adoption by the convention was largely due to the persuasion and the personal influence of General Washington. Its adoption by the States was largely due to the officers of the Continental Army, the comrades of Washington, who in every State became the recognized advocates of this work of that wonderful body over which their beloved commander had presided. That Constitution has lived for one hundred and twenty-five years, practically unchanged. Gladstone's tribute to it, "The American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man," has been justified by the experiences of the years. All that we are as a nation is due to the wonderful foresight of those men who framed this great instrument and to the adaptability of their work to every change in conditions during this century and a quarter.

After one hundred and twenty-five years of marvelous development, expansion, prosperity, liberty and happiness under the Constitution, we are now told it must be altered and its fundamental spirit of Representative Government destroyed.

To uphold this great charter of law and order with liberty, is one of the duties which devolve upon this Society of the Cincinnati, the sacred trust imposed upon its members by the fathers.

But we go back to the banquet. Let us for a moment recreate the scene. It was the custom on such occasions for toasts and responsive speeches. We can easily imagine that the first sentiment was to the new Republic and a prayer for its perpetuity. The next, with more acclaim and more emotion than any compliment ever offered to a human being, was to the commander-in-chief, General Washington. The response of the General, for he was no speaker, was not in words, but in an emotion which was shared by them all. Then came a grateful recognition of the services of our French allies and of a bright and witty response from General Lafayette. We can see the martial, rotund figure, with genial countenance, of General Knox rising to respond for the army. Auld Lang Syne has been the anthem which has closed many an historic gathering, but never was it sung with such fervor and feeling as on this occasion when the past was secure, when the present was so glorious, when heroes were clasping hands, and when the future was so full of doubt, and, at the same time, of hope.

Nine days afterward came the most pathetic incident in the history of the Army of the United States. The officers had again assembled to bid a last farewell to General Washington. It was once more in old Fraunce's Tavern. The war was over, the victory had been won, the Republic was founded, the army disbanded. These companions in arms who had suffered so much and fought so gloriously for seven years were to give up their commands and return to their homes. To many it was to privation and poverty, for everything had been sacrificed for their country. A hand clasp, a muffled good-bye and tears obscuring the sight was the farewell of these gallant men to their wonderful commander. They were all members of our Society. They were bidding good-bye to the Commander-in-chief of the army who was returning to private life, and also the President-General of the Society of the Cincinnati. They all felt that while they might meet in

the future in their several States and the general Society once a year, there was no possibility that all should be gathered again, and, therefore, that this was the most significant meeting of the society formed for such a glorious purpose for the country, and in whose perpetuity they believed was the preservation of the principles upon which the government had been founded. It was their hope and prayer that their descendents should strive through succeeding generations to preserve intact all that had been won by the valor of their ancestors.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
on the Occasion of the Presentation of the
Grand Jewel of the 33°, at the Masonic Hall,
New York, December 20, 1912.

BRETHREN: Many things occur to one during life which are memorable in their influence upon character and career; others which give distinct pleasure so great as to separate that day from others and make it a red-letter one. This is especially the case with gifts. No boy ever forgets his first watch. No girl ever forgets her first bracelet or ring. Little note is taken of these incidents at the time, but they become more precious with advancing years, and as the days of the gift recede the memory of them grows brighter.

Middle age also has its gifts from the larger circle which has then been formed and the closer intimacies which have been made. It is after one has passed seventy that evidences of friendship are more cherished. It is one of the lamentable incidents of a career that those whom we love and cherish drop away and join the majority while we go marching on. The circle narrows, and, except for certain redeeming features, the period beyond threescore and ten would grow more and more lonely until one stood absolutely alone. This must be the case with those who have not cherished, during their opportunities, love and brotherhood. It is possible to ward off this isolation by keeping abreast with the times and active in all living discussions and interests. It is possible to form associations with those who have come later upon the stage, but they are never the warm friendships, the intimacies and the confidences of youth and of middle age.

There is one absolute panacea, however, for these ills, and that is found within the bosom of Masonry. Masonry is ever young, and its associations ever fresh. Within its walls the sentiment which is the inspiration of the Craft is the perpetual youth of friendship, of companionship and of brotherhood by means of the sacred tie.

We are now within a few days of Christmas. It is a

period of festivities which are peculiarly affiliated with our Order. We celebrate at Christmas time the coming upon earth in the person of Divinity appearing as a man, the universality of love and peace and good will among men. It was a doctrine which had never been known and never practiced before. It has been working its way for nearly two thousand years, until now it is recognized universally as the mainspring of action for happiness both with individuals and with nations. The fact that there is a war raging in Europe does not militate against the growth of this idea. In the olden time the world was always at war—at war for territory, for revenge, for racial hatred, or for the ambitions of reigning dynasties in monarchical countries. There were certain great questions which could be solved only by war. With us, it was the question of slavery, but that eliminated we will have peace among ourselves forever. This war in the Balkans is a war of religions which has been slumbering for six hundred years. The Balkan peasant wears mourning upon his hat for defeat in a battle with the Turks six centuries ago. The oppression by the Mohammedans of the Christian natives during all these ages has finally culminated in the present struggle. The victory of the Balkan Christian over the Mohammedan Turk is due to the advancement of the ages, as well as to modern ideas penetrating their mountains, reaching them in their schools, being carried back to them by their immigrants who have come to America, made a competency and then returned home, while nothing in all this time has been able to penetrate the fatalism of the Koran. The spirit which started two thousand years ago, working out for these Balkan peoples brotherhood with each other and a common faith which united them, notwithstanding territorial divisions, has enabled them to beat the Turk, who has advanced little according to modern ideas from his ancestor who swept over Europe in that distant age.

But Masonry has grown stronger with the centuries. It appeals to the best element of human nature, to the only living thing there is in humanity, and that is the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God.

There are distinctions in this world, not so great as there

used to be, but they still exist and always will. In a Republic like ours all men are equal one day in the year, when, as citizens, they deposit their ballots, but every other day in the year they differ in fortune, in station and in almost every way. But those who enter the sacred portals of Masonry leave behind their titles and their distinctions and come in all as men and brothers. This is not for one day nor for one year, but for all time. When a Mason has advanced so that he reaches the exalted position of the highest honors in the Scottish Rite, he carries with him not only this brotherhood and all that it means in helpfulness, but he realizes as he never did before that there are gradations in truth. Not but what all truth is the same, but in the purer and more elevated and more clarified atmosphere of the Scottish Rite degrees all sides of truth and all the beneficent power of truth and all the energizing and recreating power of truth are clearer than they ever were before.

A new society has been formed and assumed a title which has added a new word to the English language. They call themselves "Spugs." Within a month they claim that twenty-two hundred have enrolled under their banner, and each one, both men and women, proudly says, "I am a Spug." The idea of the society is to stop the useless giving at Christmas which desecrates both the day and the gift. A gift is worse than useless; it is an injury unless accompanied by the proper sentiment from the giver and a reciprocal sentiment from the recipient. I know of nothing more demoralizing than the painful consultations of Brown and Smith and Jones with their wives as to what they shall do for Robinson, and of Robinson with his wife of how he shall reciprocate what he is afraid he will get from Brown and Smith and Jones. I know of a lady who from a person she cared nothing about, except socially, received a fan, and the next year she sent it to another whom she cared nothing about, except socially, and another year that person sent it back to the original giver, and then all three became enemies. Christmas in a family, and especially for the children with Santa Claus still a reality, is the most delightful festival of the year.

But you are presenting me with a gift to-night which has

a significance not to be found in any Christmas offering. It is more than the watch or the ring or the necklace because it has no duplicates. Money cannot purchase it; rank cannot secure it; power cannot win it. It is the original creation of the inspired artist who threw into it an expression which none but those entitled to wear it can understand or the sweetness and the charm and the love which it signifies. Its appearance carries the wearer everywhere among brethren whom he never knew before, and who seeing the emblem are his brothers at once. To me, appreciating as I do, all that the emblem stands for, and all that it means, there comes an added significance and power which warms my heart and touches me very deeply. It is that those who have chosen me to be a brother among them have not only conferred upon me that great honor, but that they have also assumed and claimed the privilege of securing this jewel and of giving it to me not only for what it means, but for what they think of me and what they know of the regard I have for them.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW at the dinner given by the Lotos Club of New York to Governor William Sulzer, February 8, 1913.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: It has been the custom of the Lotos Club to greet with all its honors the incoming Governor of the State of New York. This ceremony began almost with its organization, and has, therefore, included most of our chief executives during the last half century. As my membership dates back farther and has lasted longer, I think, than any other, it has been my pleasure to participate in all these ceremonials.

It is gratifying to our State pride and the good judgment of our citizenship that we never have had an unworthy Governor. However much they have differed in their politics, their policies and their characteristics, all of them have been fit Governors of the Empire State. It was my privilege to become acquainted with Governor Sulzer when he took his first step, nearly a quarter of a century ago, as a member of the legislature, and to follow his most interesting career with admiration and friendship.

The Governorship of the State of New York is in many ways second only in responsibilities to the Presidency of the United States. Our friend is already discovering the wonderful difference between being a member of the legislative branch and the executive. As a legislator or congressman he is one of many. As President or Governor, he is it. The Governor sends his messages to the two hundred members of the legislature and expects them to adopt his suggestions. If they originate measures and pass them, which are contrary to his judgment, he does not hesitate to set his opinion up against that of the majority of the legislative branch and to interpose his veto. If he is the party leader, as the Governor ought to be, and if his party friends are in the majority, the veto is never overridden. It is to the credit of Governor Sulzer's courage that he has laid out a broad, liberal and statesman-

like program for his administration, and that he has informed the legislature that he is the leader, as he ought to be by virtue of his office.

When we criticize so freely, as we do our Governor, we ought to remember what we require of him. I was elected Secretary of State of New York, fifty years ago this year. Horatio Seymour was Governor. It was in the midst of the Civil War. Notwithstanding the usual expenses of great amount imposed upon the State because of its contribution to the Army, the budget was only about seven millions of dollars, but in those days that sum was raised by direct taxation. This made the people very watchful of their State finances and they held their representatives to a strict account for every projected improvement and the expenditure of every dollar. A hundred thousand dollars, more or less, in that early date in the State budget would lead to a political revolution. With the disappearance of the direct tax and the raising of all revenues by indirect taxation, this supervision by the great mass of the people disappeared. This sense of accountability and responsibility went with it, and almost imperceptibly our budget has grown from seven millions to forty millions without discussion and without protest.

I am glad the Governor, as his first act, has appointed a committee to look into all the departments and to find out how efficiency can lead to economy. When Senator Aldrich remarked in the Senate some years ago that as a business man and on business principles he could save three hundred millions of dollars a year running the government, his statement was declared to be absolutely absurd, and yet President Taft's efficiency and economy committee have found where there could be a saving of nearly one hundred millions a year without impairing in the least the work of the various departments. The trouble with economy is its cruelty. One of the necessities of our form of government, in so far as there is no civil service, is the constantly increasing and unnecessary employment to take care of political parties and their leaders. We rightly criticize the enormous extravagance of the government of the City of New York. We know that one-third of our appropriations are wasted, and yet that condition is charge-

able largely to our system. It is the same with all parties and under all administrations. Berlin does better with a dollar than New York does with five, because in Berlin the trained man only takes his place, whether humble or lofty, and five men are not appointed where one whose efficiency and competency could more satisfactorily do the work.

The Governor of the State of New York at the present time is the executive officer of our system of canals, of the expenditure of one hundred and one million of dollars upon them, of the selection, location, plan and development of the terminals and of one hundred millions of dollars for the highways of the State. He ought to possess all the qualities which would recommend him to a board of directors of one of the great railway systems of the country. The same problems and responsibilities are before him and he does not have the guidance of a board of directors who are financially interested and by trained men who have been brought up from the bottom for the discharge of their various duties. So that if Governor Sulzer successfully manages the Barge Canal, which will be opened in his term, with its terminals, and the expenditure of this vast sum upon the roads, with happy and satisfactory results, when he retires from office or the political situation should change and he be relegated to private life, he would have a high claim and a good chance to become one of those few most efficient, most patriotic and most useful citizens of the United States, and most unpopular politically, a railroad president.

Then one of the greatest responsibilities resting upon our Governor is the supervisory care of the metropolis of the Western Continent. No matter how much of a home ruler he may be, the problems of the great city are constantly coming to him for solution. The electorate of the city numbers one-half of the voters of the State. Its party leader or boss is in command of a solid phalanx as against the warring factions of the rural districts. I think the hardest task of a Democratic Governor, and one which shows the highest qualities of diplomacy, tact and statesmanship, is to placate that leader and still please the people.

Silas Wright, the selected prototype of our friend, and his

great admiration, was Governor when I was ten years old, so I did not know him. But I was in the convention which nominated Governor Morgan in 1858 and in the legislature during his second term. I thus came to know him intimately, and have been on friendly terms with every Governor since. We did not have in those days the great multi-millionaires whose names and fortunes are now the most exciting subject of public comment, but in the development of that early time we had a few of the same masterful and successful men. They were called Merchant Princes. They were Edwin D. Morgan, the Grinnells, Howland and Aspinwall, while in transportation stood the giant figure of Commodore Vanderbilt. When Mr. Morgan consented to run it was hailed generally as a most patriotic thing that a man of such vast business should be willing to leave it and give to the people the benefit of his wonderful and demonstrated talent in affairs. The most popular men in the community were these Merchant Princes, because it was generally understood that they were developing with a rapidity and success, which no other people could, the resources of the country, adding to its enterprise and its employment and especially increasing its internal trade and foreign commerce. As one of the changes which have taken place in public sentiment since that time, no such man could now be elected Governor of the State of New York. If he did get the office he would not be complimented because of surrendering his private affairs to give his great experience and talent to the public service, but it would be said he had taken the office for the purpose of promoting the special interests. Now, such a man, instead of receiving legislative or executive honors, is more likely to be the recipient of the inquiries and attention of the Grand Jury or a Congressional Investigating Committee anxious to discover how much he has, where he got it and how.

I agree with Governor Sulzer that the careers of these old worthies are valuable subjects for study. After being associated with them, as I have, for nearly sixty years, however, as Presidents, Governors and Legislators, I differ with our friend in his view that they are models to be followed. I think rather their value to statesmen of the present day is to avoid their mistakes.

Silas Wright, the Governor's exemplar, was a great man. Horatio Seymour paid him this remarkable tribute:

"Mr. Wright was a great man, an honest man. If he committed errors they were induced by his devotion to his party. He was not selfish. To him his party was everything; himself nothing."

In our day when insurgency is so popular, this is not an epitaph which a progressive would want put upon his tombstone. And just here comes a suggestion of mistakes for our friend to avoid. Silas Wright might have been nominated for Vice-President in 1844, and would afterward have been President, but he was persuaded that he and no one else could carry the State of New York, and therefore he should give up the Presidency to run for Governor and save the party. He never got another chance.

When I was a member of the Legislature and Morgan was Governor, the House of the Assembly was a tie. As the law was in those days, each House had to nominate for United States Senator before the two Houses could go into joint session. The Senate was overwhelmingly Republican, so that in joint ballot a Republican Senator would be elected. I was the nominee of our party for Speaker, which was a great and greatly desired honor for a young man under thirty. A Democratic member offered to so vote that we could go into joint caucus if I would give up the Speakership and induce our party to elect him. Ten Democratic members offered to vote for me if I would stand. Friends of Governor Morgan, who wanted to be Senator, said, "Young man, if you make this sacrifice you will win the gratitude of the party and all its honors will be yours during all the coming years." I surrendered the Speakership to elect Morgan United States Senator. That night the reception given to me surpassed in cheers, flattery and champagne anything ever known at the Capitol. The next day nobody remembered what I had done, so, Governor, if you are elected for a second term the prestige of the great State of New York behind you makes you a wonderfully attractive candidate for the Presidential nomination in 1916. If, when the prize is within your grasp, the leaders gather around you and say that immortality is yours if you

pass it on to some one else, remember that the bird once loosed from your hand never returns, but mocks you from the bush.

It is reported that another of our Governors, whom you greatly admire, and who is in a way an example, was my old friend Tilden. My relations with him were most intimate and confidential. He discussed with me all those policies which made him a national figure before he promulgated them. Although I was on the platform for our own party, he revealed to me views about his own followers and his own purposes which would have ruined his political prospects if they had been told. I highly appreciated this confidence. He was the most patient of listeners, the most plodding of workers and the most procrastinating of statesmen. He would listen to an applicant for office or the signature of a bill with absorption, which indicated to the petitioner the certainty of success, and then one eye would drop on his cheek; his expression would be that so well known in the Egyptian Sphinx, and, in a sepulchral voice, he would say, "I will see you later." That later time never came. At the Governor's funeral there were more floral tributes than had ever been paid to a public man. Among them, from an unknown source, was a pillow in white flowers and upon it in large letters "S. Y. L."—"See you later." It indicated what this disappointed gentleman would do to the Governor if in the luck of accidents he happened to land in the same place in the next world where the Governor was.

Fenton and Hill were the greatest politicians we ever had in the Gubernatorial chair. Fenton created a party machine which lasted for ten years, and was only broken by General Grant as President giving the vast patronage which existed at that time into the hands of Senator Conkling. Governor Hill united the country behind him as against the city and was continued until he was wearied in the leadership of the State.

I remember as if it was yesterday Mr. Sulzer being pointed out to me as he was climbing the State Street Hill on the way to the Capitol when first elected a member of the Legislature twenty-five years ago. I saw at once that he felt that no one had ever received this honor before, or if they had it had not the same significance. I think the Governor will admit that was the proudest moment of his life. I know that is true of all

public men that the first honor gives them satisfaction which no subsequent ones afford, however great.

We all can honor the Governor because he refutes in his own person in such an emphatic and distinguished way the pessimism of the hour. From press and platform we hear constantly reiterated that because of our modern conditions there is no longer opportunity for the young men in civic life or in business. This idea has taken a singular hold upon the public mind, notwithstanding that there is no community so small that it does not have examples of men and of women who have overcome all obstacles and made careers. Our guest is a fine example of what is known as a self-made man. Without fortune, without powerful relatives, friends or associations, he has made his own way. He educated himself by his own exertions. He earned the money to keep him going while he studied law until he was admitted. Now, at his zenith, and still under fifty, he has been many times a member of our Legislature, Speaker of our House of Assembly, nearly twenty years in Congress, gaining there a national reputation, and, to-night, Governor of the Empire State.

He has been Governor a little over a month. In that period problems have been presented to him more acute than have met any Governor during the first four weeks of his term. He has been jammed in the subway, but I think he is safely out. Our friend, Mr. Murphy, pointed out to him his little graveyard in which are buried so many who have met with an untimely political death. A powerful and influential newspaper pointed out its graveyard and said to him, "We not only bury here those who disagree with us, but we inflict punishment after death." In inducing a distinguished, able and honored member of our Supreme Court to help solve this problem, the Governor seems to have justified the tact and ability which have carried him so far in his remarkable career. We have never known a time when the people wanted rapid transit as much as they do now or with such unanimity. The present battle, so far as I can understand, is who shall have the credit. People care nothing for technical distinctions if they delay something which they want. They do not stop to consider disputes about the pecuniary side of transactions

which involve their comfort and their health. They want what they want, and they want it now. The tired girl who has been in the shop all day wants a seat on her way home. The man of family, unable to get out of the tenement, wants the rapid transit that will carry him to purer air and better surroundings for his children. The whole mass of working men and women feel that additional subways and cheaper and more rapid and more comfortable methods of getting in and out to their places of labor means health, longevity and happiness for them and theirs, so this town wants this question settled immediately, and I believe that is the wish and purpose of our guest.

Governor, though we differ in politics, when political honors are due from a member of your party, I have always rejoiced that they came to you. I congratulate you upon your present high position, and you have my best wishes for your future.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
as Chairman at the Pilgrims Society Luncheon
to the Delegates from England, Belgium, Can-
ada and Australia to Arrange for Celebrating
1914, or 100 Years of Peace Between the United
States and Great Britain, at the Waldorf-Astoria,
May 5, 1913.

GENTLEMEN: It is a very pleasing duty which I have to perform here to-day. The Pilgrims Society was organized by the English and Americans in London, and the Americans and English in New York, for the purpose of promoting and perpetuating good relations and peace between the English-speaking peoples of the world. (Applause.)

We have, in the course of the decade during which we have existed, welcomed representative men of both countries, both in the capital of Great Britain and in New York City; but there never has been so significant an occasion connected with the purpose of this Society as that which calls us together to-day. (Applause.)

We are here to welcome and to greet with all the honors representatives of Great Britain who have crossed the ocean on the glorious mission of preparing, with their brethren of Canada and the other English possessions round the world, with the people of the United States, appropriate ceremonies for the celebration next year of one hundred years of peace between the English-speaking nations. (Great applause.)

It is somewhat dramatic that we meet here at this particular time, when the world was never so near a great conflict, and when the world was never so armed and in preparation for it. While continental nations are burdening themselves beyond all precedent in order to be ready for war, which the Prime Minister of Great Britain stated the other day we had just escaped, and which the press says we are on the eve of now, we, representing Great Britain and the United States, meet

in the midst of war alarms for peace and peace alone. (Hearty applause; cries of "Hear, hear!")

Now we have with us to-day also the representatives of the city in which this commission met. It is singular that the histories, whether they are written by English or American historians, give only a scant line to the meeting of these commissioners a century ago in this city of Ghent. When ages from now Macaulay's New Zealander, who was to stand on the broken arches of London Bridge and view the ruins of St. Paul, arrives home he will write a history of the world, and I venture to say that he will give more pages to the meeting of those Peace Commissioners at Ghent a century ago and its results than any other one in the million years which he discusses.

Why, my friends, that was a marvelous commission, and the names of two of those commissioners are still household words with us—John Quincy Adams, afterwards President of the United States, and Henry Clay, the most eloquent statesman and the most popular leader of his time. It is recorded in a few letters which are in existence that when they arrived in Ghent the Society of Arts and Sciences elected them members. Now, those statesmen knew mighty little about arts and sciences; old masters were not in fashion then and you could not have sold one or given one away in the United States under any condition. (Laughter.) But having elected them as members of the Arts and Sciences, the Society immediately gave them a dinner; and the city of Ghent, untrue to that impartiality which should belong to a referee, offered, through its Burgomaster, as the toast, "Success to the Americans in this Negotiation." (Laughter.) After the ceremonies and the discussions were completed and the treaty fully agreed to and signed by all the commissioners, then the American commissioners gave a dinner to the British commission. Now, there was this fortunate thing for the statesmen of that period. The British statesmen could not have praised Americans and been elected to anything, and the American statesmen, in the tone of public sentiment at that time, could never have praised Great Britain, with any hope of the future. But there were no cables and no reporters

(laughter), and the result is that this chronicler, only in a letter, says that never were such compliments paid by the British to America or by the Americans to the British. (Laughter.) John Quincy Adams broke loose from the icy surroundings of his New England culture and Puritan blood and grew warm on the subject, and Henry Clay was never so mellifluous, never so eloquent, never so grand in his eulogiums of the country from which we all sprang. But they were not reported.

There is a significance about that dinner; it was the first one which was ever held, in an international way, between Englishmen and Americans for the purpose of celebrating good will between the two peoples. Every dinner since then, and there has been a million of them, has been for that one purpose, and every speech that has been made since has been an echo of those speeches which were made a hundred years ago. (Applause.)

According to our judgment, the present causes of threatened war, which is to join in its conflagration all Europe and, possibly, all Asia, seem to be mighty small to us Americans, and I have no doubt mighty small to Englishmen, if I may use an optical illusion, with eyes which go around the globe.

But, my friends, while we have been at peace for one hundred years, we have not always been on the most amicable, friendly and loving terms; and we would have been a mighty poor lot and unworthy of our ancestry if we had been. (Applause.) There must, among virile people, arise many questions of difference, and those questions will come to the breaking point. Now, we haven't fought, though we have had plenty of causes to fight about during those hundred years, not because either of us was afraid nor because either of us didn't sometimes long for a fight. We have both of us fought for a sentiment; we have both of us fought on the drop of the hat; we have both of us fought because one of our citizens was insulted somewhere; we have both of us fought where we had no earthly interest, except to protect or to save or to rescue a people who were unduly oppressed. (Great applause.) Now, we came near fighting over the Northeastern Boundary,

but just as it came to the breaking point, the greatest intellect that we have ever had since Hamilton in American diplomacy or statesmanship, Webster, suggested the solution that Lord Ashburton approved. We came near fighting when both sides claimed the whole Pacific coast. The English suggested the 49th parallel, and the Americans said "No"; then the Americans suggested the 49th parallel to the English, and the English said "No"; others suggested several other parallels, and both sides said "No." Then Polk was elected on "54-40 or fight." And after Polk was elected he studied geography a little, and then he said to the representatives of Great Britain: "I was elected on 54-40 or fight, but how does 49 appear to you?" "Well," said the English Prime Minister, "it never occurred to me before, but it is just the thing." (Laughter.) Then in later times, when differences came to the breaking point, they were settled by the genius of John Hay and the brilliant diplomacy of Lord Pauncefoot. (Applause.) In our own recent recollection every obstacle in the way has been removed by the diplomacy of our own Senator, Elihu Root, and Ambassador James Bryce. (Applause.)

I heard of a family which had two possessions it highly valued: one was a pet goat and the other a Persian rug a thousand years old, very fine and of brilliant color. The goat ate up the rug, and as a proper punishment he was carried by the family down to the track and tied on his back to one of the rails. Then the executioners awaited his proper punishment, but as the express train rounded the curve, the goat took in the situation, coughed up the rug, flagged the train and saved his life and the family heirloom. (Laughter.) Now, it has so happened that in every crisis during these one hundred years there were statesmen on both sides who could get into an agreement and flag the train of war before the collision occurred.

Now, if I may make—and sometimes we can do it yet—just the slightest kind of a classical allusion, it is said in history the gates of the Temple of Janus were closed only four times in two thousand years, and then only for a few months at a time. Our gates of the Temple of Janus, which holds the household Gods of English-speaking peoples, have been

closed over a century. The gates are rusted and the metal has fused. There never can be an open gate again through which the armies can march, or the machines of war can go to the ports for dreadnoughts of the navy. From now and forever more and especially when we have cemented peace by the celebration which is to come next year, peace will remain between the English-speaking peoples of the world, not only for their own advancement, but as an example for the civilization and humanity of the whole world. (Tremendous applause.)

**Report of Speech Delivered on Board the Steamship
"Kronprinzessin Cecilie" on Voyage from New
York to Cherbourg, June 14, 1913, in Honor of
the German Emperor's Jubilee.**

**Mr. Chauncey M. Depew Makes Striking Tribute to the
German Emperor**

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *Herald*:

I was present at the concert given on the steamship *Kronprinzessin Cecilie* on June 14th, when Mr. Chauncey M. Depew, who acted as chairman, made an eloquent reference to the German Emperor's Jubilee, and I feel sure that the following report of Mr. Depew's speech may be of interest to you.

After highly complimenting Captain Polack and the management of the steamship, Mr. Depew said: "It seems most appropriate that on a German ship and under the German flag, on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the accession of the German Emperor to the throne, a tribute should be paid to this distinguished Sovereign.

"I was at Salzburg, in the Tyrol, a few years after the Franco-German War. Our little company was profoundly stirred by the arrival of the German Emperor, accompanied by his grandson, the present Kaiser. Though ill and of great age, the Emperor marched into the hotel and up the broad staircase unassisted and with the step of a veteran soldier. The Emperor rapidly recovered, and I had an opportunity to be near him and his grandson, the latter a superb-looking young man with an impressive personality. With two lives between him and succession, there seemed likely to be a long interval before he would reach the throne.

'DROPPING THE PILOT'

"A few years afterwards I was in London when the young Emperor had dispensed with the services of Bismarck. *Punch* had a cartoon called 'Dropping the Pilot.' The youth-

ful sovereign, pictured as a presumptuous boy, was looking over the lofty bulwarks of the battleship down to the rowboat carrying away his Chancellor. It was youthful audacity and self-confidence dismissing his most eminent and famous adviser at the critical moment in his career and taking the reins of Government into his own hands to inaugurate and carry on his own policies.

"The picture so well portrayed the opinions held in all the Chancelleries of Europe that one of the ablest and most distinguished statesmen of England purchased from *Punch* the original sketch, which was the best of the famous cartoons of Sir John Tenniel. It represented what European statesmen generally believed to be the future—trouble for Germany in her internal affairs and danger to the peace of Europe.

"The Emperor, during his reign, has gloriously refuted all these predictions. He has given to the German people the most beneficent quarter of a century in their history. He has fostered domestic industries by a protective tariff, which has given Germany its own market. He encouraged by every favor of Government the building of a merchant marine which carries the products of the Fatherland to every part of the world. He made an inland Empire not only the most formidable military power, but so enlarged its navy that it can protect its vast commerce and compete for supremacy on the seas.

STOPS EMIGRATION

"He stopped the vast emigration which was carrying the flower of German manhood and womanhood to enrich other lands, by providing remunerative industries at home and making his country one of the most highly organized, skilful and profitable national workshops ever known. The policies which have made a miracle in Germany in the last quarter of a century our people at home have decided to renounce. They are entering upon the experiment gaily and hilariously; we all hope their expectations will be realized.

"The Emperor's diplomacy has gained everything his country demanded, and the magnitude and perfection of his military and naval power have protected German interests from assault

and kept neighboring states from entering upon the hazards of a conflict, which might be decided to their ruin or injury by the mailed hand of Germany.

"Speaking for the Americans who are passengers on this German ship, and, I believe, voicing the views of the American people, I extend to the Emperor our cordial congratulations and best wishes for the future.

"AN AMERICAN PASSENGER."

ADDRESS BY HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Formation of the Village of Ossining, State of New York, October 13, 1913.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Twenty-seven years ago I was in Heidelberg. The five hundredth anniversary of the founding of its famous university had just been celebrated with impressive ceremonies. The Emperor, the Grand Duke, the high officials of the Empire and distinguished professors and men of letters graced the occasion. For the visitor all that was left were the decorations in canvas and tinsel where in the ruins of the old castle had been recreated Germany of five centuries before. It was mainly the pomp, display and majesty of war. It was knights in armor and feudal banners which had been carried victoriously on many a battlefield. The lesson of the hour, as conveyed by these remnants of the banquet, was not of peace or of learning, but of the might of embattled royalty and nobility maintaining with their retainers the prestige of their government, their class and their institutions.

The centenary which we celebrate today in this simple way has an entirely different and more significant meaning. The pomp and circumstance and glories of war, the pageantry of feudalism and its class distinctions have no place here. The century which closes tonight has no equal in recorded history of the benefits which it has bestowed upon humanity. Every class and condition in life have been equally the beneficiaries of its marvelous achievements. More has been accomplished in charity, bestowed without favor, in all-embracing philanthropy, in invention and discovery, in conquests of the forces of nature and disciplining them to the service of man, and, in orderly liberty, than in all the cycles which have preceded.

When the University of Heidelberg was founded, the learned and the unlearned still regarded with awe the seven wonders of the world, which were repeated everywhere in the following lines:

The pyramids first, which in Egypt were laid;
 Next Babylon's garden for Amytis made;
 Then Mausolos's tomb of affection and guilt;
 Fourth, the temple of Dian, in Ephesus built;
 The colossus of Rhodes, cast in brass, to the sun;
 Sixth, Jupiter's statue, by Phidias done;
 The pharos of Egypt comes last, we are told,
 Or the palace of Cyrus, cemented with gold.

But the wonders of this century are steam and its infinite application, unifying the world by railroads and steamships; electricity, belting the earth in instantaneous communication by the telegraph and cable and the wireless; the Suez Canal which united Western Europe with Asia, and the Panama Canal which will bind the North and South American Hemispheres in mutual interdependence and immensely productive, political and commercial relations and make the Pacific Ocean the highway of nations; the inventions and discoveries which have multiplied power so that production can take care of increasing populations better than ever before, and the advances in medicine and surgery which have found out the sources and removed the terrors of plagues, diseases and fractures which for ages have devastated and tortured mankind. Education has been popularized and brought within reach of all at the expense of the State with increasing liberty and opportunity. But the greatest wonder of all is the United States of America which has passed its one hundred and twenty-fifth year unchanged in its Constitution and institutions, a light for the guidance of other peoples and a home for millions who have been absorbed in its citizenship and assimilated to its ideas of liberty and civilization.

The story of the organization of this municipal corporation would be incomplete without a picture of the background which educated and prepared the people of this town one hundred years ago for the formation of a representative government. The name of the town and of the village both came from Indian sources. While a large number of the municipalities of our State are named after the cities of Greece and Rome, or the Gods of Ancient Mythology, this village and

township happily preserved the musical and appropriate nomenclature of its first inhabitants. The Six Nations of aboriginal Indians whose capital was in the Mohawk Valley, had the genius to discover, without outside aid or knowledge, the power of federated government. These tribes extended their power and exacted tribute from the extreme north down to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Atlantic Ocean to the Arctic Circle. The most powerful among these six tribes were the Mohigans whose habitat was along the Hudson. One family of them lived upon this spot, with their larger settlement Ossining and their smaller one Sing Sing. From these hills they saw the Half Moon anchor in Tappan Zee in 1609, and undoubtedly examined this strange craft with their canoes. They little dreamed that it was the forerunner of a stronger race which was to occupy their lands and before which they were to disappear.

Seventy-one years later Frederick Philipse, a successful New York merchant, was granted a patent by the British Crown permitting him to "freely buy" the district of country extending from Spuyten Duyvil Creek to the Croton River, where this great manor joined the manorial estate of the Van Cortlandts. When the Revolutionary War broke out the descendant of this Philipse cast his lot with the British while Van Cortlandt remained faithful to the patriot cause. At the close of the war the Philipse family fled to England. The estate was confiscated and purchased mainly by the tenants. Philipse purchased the property from the Indians for a miscellaneous and not very large collection of knives, guns, powder, lead, cloth, axes, wampum, and probably most attractive, two ankers of rum, an anker containing twelve gallons. The Indian had thus early acquired a taste for fire-water, which, more than the guns of the enemy, led to his extermination. And yet, at the sale of the confiscated estate in 1784, what now constitutes nearly the whole of northern Westchester, except the northern part of Cortlandt town, brought only forty-three thousand dollars.

This town was in the midst of what is famous in the story of the Revolutionary struggle as the neutral ground. The British Army was encamped in New York; the American

Army at Peekskill and the hills north, and this intermediate territory was raided by the scouting and foraging parties of both armies, but, worst of all, was subject to plundering bands of banditti, known as cowboys or skinners who masqueraded, sometimes as loyalists and sometimes as revolutionists, but were always thieves.

Within few miles of here Andre was captured by Paulding, Williams and Van Wart. Had he succeeded in reaching New York with the papers in his possession, West Point would have fallen, the country would have been divided by the Hudson River and independence postponed for an indefinite period.

A most interesting book could be written on the trifling incidents which have led to mighty results. Two farmer's boys, one a white man and the other a negro, Sherwood and Peterson, were making cider on the Frost Estate about four miles north from this spot. They saw a boat put off from the Vulture which had brought Andre up to the meeting with Arnold, and saying, "Let's go down and take a shot at the Britishers," they hid in the bushes and fired at the boat with their flintlock muskets. A sailor was wounded and the boat returned to the British sloop of war. The noise of the firing attracted the attention of Colonel Livingston who, with his command, was stationed at Verplanck's Point. He applied for a large gun which Arnold refused. Then he sent a four-pounder, which was his best artillery to Teller's Point, which encloses your harbor, and that little gun compelled the sloop of war to raise anchor and drop down the Hudson. The musket shots of the two farmer's boys and the four-pounder on Teller's Point forced the land journey of Major Andre in an effort to regain his own lines, and then followed his capture, the flight of Arnold, the exposure of the plot and the salvation of the country.

There is another lesson in the tragedy of Andre, and that is, a military officer should always obey orders, and all persons in times of peril should find out about others without revealing themselves. General Clinton's orders to Andre were, not to go within the American Lines, not to conceal his uniform, not to carry any papers, but his adventurous spirit got the better of his written instructions and he was captured.

Paulding was a prisoner of war who had escaped to the home of a sympathizer near the prison. He purchased for him an old British uniform. When he was stopped, Andre saw the uniform, supposed it was one of his own people and betrayed his position as a British officer. Paulding said afterward that if Andre had said nothing except exhibit the pass which he had from General Arnold he would have let him go.

So little is known of the subsequent history of Benedict Arnold, except in a general way, that greater detail might appropriately be put on record on this occasion. The story is one of tragedy, of the loyal devotion of a devoted woman to a husband who was unworthy of her affection. He died without revealing whether she ever fully understood the infamy of his act. Arnold was an able, daring and tempestuous character without moral principle or self control. Washington made him the military commander of Philadelphia because his wound, received at Saratoga, unfitted him for the field. His extravagances led to a court martial. The court martial condemned him. Washington could not do otherwise than approve the findings of the court martial, and for that Arnold flew into a rage and opened communications with the British Commander. He was a military genius. He saw that West Point was the key to the situation, that there he could inflict the most telling blow and earn his reward. He asked for this command which Washington, who had unimpaired confidence in him, readily granted.

The last act of the unfortunate Major Andre before the British Army evacuated Philadelphia was to organize a tournament in which each knight had his lady, and his was the beautiful Peggy Shippen. The first thing that happened to General Arnold after he assumed command of Philadelphia was to meet Peggy Shippen and fall madly in love with her. The first act of Arnold when he had safely reached the Vulture was to write to General Washington begging him to be merciful to his wife, this same Peggy Shippen.

The character of Washington comes into relief in two instances of this period. While he made every effort to capture Arnold and to exchange Andre for him, yet with a tender and fatherly care he shielded Mrs. Arnold, had her conveyed

in safety to her father in Philadelphia, and subsequently permitted her to pass through the lines to join her husband in New York. The second was old General Putnam, who always self-reliant, egotistic and wrong-headed, had disobeyed an order. Washington's reprimand meant discipline and at the same time to save as far as possible the feelings of the old veteran, in writing a reproof he said: "My dear General, if anything goes wrong from my order, the blame is mine not yours."

Arnold, with his wife and two children at the close of the war went over on the same ship with Cornwallis. He and his wife were received with the greatest attention by the King and Queen, but society refused to recognize them. They were at every court function, and King George and Queen Charlotte put themselves out of the way to show them courtesy, but no one else went near them or received them. Life was a solitude in their home and no doors were opened to them. We have all felt in watching the doings of what is called society everywhere, whether at the Capitol or in the village, that it is governed by singular impulses in its recognition or rejection of new-comers.

The Earl of Lauderdale made a speech in Parliament attacking the Duke of Richmond, in which he said that he did not know of any instance of political apostasy equal to the Duke of Richmond's except General Arnold's, and that as the intended encampment was designed to overawe the Kingdom and the metropolis in particular and prevent a reform in Parliament, the Duke of Richmond was the most popular commander to command it, General Arnold being struck off the list. Arnold immediately challenged the Earl. He selected Lord Hawke as his second, while the Earl of Lauderdale chose the famous statesman Charles James Fox. They were to fire simultaneously. Arnold missed. The Earl refused to fire on the ground that he had no complaint against the General. Arnold sent for Fox, and said, "Tell your principal that unless he fires I will so insult him that he cannot help it or be disgraced," whereupon Lauderdale said he would apologize. The apology was accepted and Lauderdale then called upon Mrs. Arnold and apologized to her. Instantly society changed

toward the family. The street was filled with carriages, coats of arms emblazoned on their panels, cards showered in from the most eminent, and invitations were extended to functions in town and great houses in the country. The devoted wife wrote to her father as to her condition pending the duel: "What I suffered for near a week cannot be described. The suppression of my feelings lest I should unman the General almost proved too much for me, and for some hours my reason was despaired of."

Arnold who was anything but a good business man speedily lost the thirty thousand dollars he had received for his betrayal. Every venture and every speculation proved unfortunate. Queen Charlotte had settled on their arrival upon Peggy a pension of five hundred pounds a year and one hundred pounds for each child. This had to support them during the nearly twenty years before Arnold died. Peggy's letters to her father are most pathetic in describing, as the children came along, how increasingly difficult it was to "keep up appearances."

Arnold disappears from the historic stage with his famous meeting with Talleyrand at Falmouth on his last journey to the West Indies. Talleyrand was also at the inn. He had been expelled from France, England no longer wanted him and he was on his way to America. Learning that a distinguished American General was in the hotel, he introduced himself, asked many questions which Arnold curtly and evasively answered. Talleyrand, however, was too great a diplomatist to be put off by bad manners even from a man who seemed to be so unhappy as Arnold, so he asked for letters of introduction to people in the United States who might be useful to him. "No," said the stranger, "that I cannot do. I am perhaps the only American who cannot give you letters to his own country. The ties which bound me are broken. I can never go back. I am Benedict Arnold." With that Arnold, with bowed head, quitted the room.

One of the most pathetic illustrations and inheritance for vengeance for treason, and its unforgetfulness and unforgiveness, was illustrated in a letter written by Mr. Shippen, then Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, to his daughter, Mrs. Arnold,

many years after she had settled in London. She had asked him if after this long absence she might not visit her old home and put her sons at an American school. The Chief Justice answered, "You had better not come, because the boys at school will make your children very uncomfortable."

The shadow of the disgrace of their father followed the children. They were fine boys and a beautiful girl resembling her mother, and did their best. Of course, the British Government aided them to positions. The eldest went to India and became distinguished as a civilian. George and James entered the military service and were both killed in the Peninsular War. At the storming of Surinam a forlorn hope was to be led against the fort. James at once applied to the Colonel for permission to lead it because he said "he knew that his father was held a failure at his duty and he desired to do the best he could to redeem his name." His wish was granted, the fort was taken, but James was unharmed. Years later in the wars against Napoleon he died as he had wished, a soldier's death in Spain.

It is the foible of every generation to think their problems more serious than those which were presented to the people of any other period. We are entering upon an industrial experiment amid the jubilant shouts of the authors of the new tariff, and are facing a currency crisis under the equally jubilant prophesies of the victors. According to our standards, we are happy or unhappy, hopeful or hopeless. Our brilliant, most original and most distinguished citizen, Colonel Roosevelt sails away, firing a broadside which echoes over the land on behalf of what he calls reforms and those who disagree with him call revolution. But we are living in calm political and social conditions so great that they cannot be compared with the troublous times which existed when this village was organized on October 13, 1813. The bitterness of the Revolutionary War was still acute. The memories of outrages committed in this neutral ground by neighbors upon neighbors were still fresh. Paulding, Williams and Van Wort, the captors of Andre, were alive. Paulding died five years later and was buried in the old Van Cortlandtville Cemetery at Peekskill. Isaac Van Wort died ten years later, and was buried

in the old Greenburg Churchyard near Elmsford. Daniel Williams died in Schoharie County eighteen years later, and was buried in the old stone fort at Schoharie Court House.

The general upheaval in National politics in 1813 and 1814 made Henry Clay Speaker of the House of Representatives, and brought Daniel Webster and John C. Calhoun into public life as Members of Congress. These three statesmen became the famed triumvirate who moulded and controlled the domestic and foreign policies of the United States for the next forty years.

An illustration of the survival of the bitterness of those times, even in another generation, is the advice given to me by my father when I commenced the practice of the law in this county in 1858. His father had been a soldier in the Revolutionary Army, and his grandfather had spent the family patrimony in raising a company for the same army. He named five families all well-known in Westchester, and said, "My son, never have any financial dealings with those people. Never accept one of them as a client. Never believe one of them as a witness. If they appear on a jury, challenge them peremptorily, for their fathers were Tories or Skinners in the Revolution.

But in 1813, Patriots, Tories and Skinners were among the population of Ossining. They all joined in the formation of this corporation. Beyond these borders the world was in agitation and trouble to an almost unparalleled degree. Napoleon's invasion of Russia had been a failure, and his army of a million of men annihilated. The allies were marching upon Paris and his abdication and retirement to Elba were imminent. War had been declared against Great Britain by Madison, and there were no obstructions in the way of forts or mines or modern appliances to prevent the British fleets coming up the Hudson, or going, as they did, up the Potomac. Political partisanship was never more intense. The leaders of the combatants were most picturesque figures in our State history. Daniel D. Tompkins, a native of Scarsdale, a few miles east of here, twice Governor of the State and Vice President of the United States, leading the one side, and DeWitt Clinton the other. Tompkins raised forty thousand men for

the defense of New York's frontier, and to secure the money for the purpose pledged his own property and indorsed the notes of the State. Clinton represented the anti-war party, and most of the leading citizens of our County sympathized with him and joined in the great meeting in New York to protest. The bitterness against Great Britain growing out of the Revolutionary War was still intense, as was also the sympathy and friendship for France. Our people were almost unanimously with Napoleon in his tremendous conflict, though under his embargoes and orders twice as many ships were seized and destroyed, and twice as much property sold or burned as by the English, nevertheless we were hot-footed for war with England, while we forgave Napoleon. Posterity, however, justifies that war. With our race no man can hope for popularity in public life who opposes a war after it has begun. The most eminent men in New England and the most eminent sons of Massachusetts and Connecticut were driven into obscurity because they were members of the Hartford Convention which was a protest against the continuance of the struggle and a demand for peace. Madison received, as against DeWitt Clinton, the votes of nearly two-thirds of the electoral college because he was pledged to declare war. Clinton resigned from the United States Senate to become Mayor of New York. At that time the Chief Magistracy of our metropolis was regarded as the higher honor. Times have changed. The Mayor of New York had almost unlimited powers. He was Chief Magistrate at the head of every department, and possessed judicial functions. He could hold any other office, for Clinton was at the same time Lieutenant Governor of the State.

It was about the time of the formation of this village corporation that DeWitt Clinton, having personally made the surveys, started the project of the Erie Canal. Tompkins arrayed himself on the other side, and the question became political. Clinton was driven from public life, but in 1817 returned as Governor of the State, and carried his great project into execution. He was driven again from public life, but the people called him once more to the Chief Magistracy, when he completed the work. He had the good fortune, which

comes to few originators, of participating in the triumph of its completion. He carried the waters of Lake Erie through the canal to the Hudson, and down the Hudson until he had poured them into the Atlantic Ocean. He gave to his State the highway to the west, which was the outlet for an interior empire which created States, cities, villages and industries which made the City of New York the metropolis of the Western Hemisphere, and made his State the Empire State of the Union.

An echo of those distant times which shows how history often repeats itself were these lines of a song that was sung before Clinton was elected :

"Oh a ditch he would dig from the lakes to the sea,
The eighth of the world's matchless wonders to be.
Good land, how absurd! But why should you grin?
It will do to bury this mad author within."

After his election his friends sang this song :

"DeWitt Clinton is dead, St. Tammany said,
"And all the papooses with laughter were weeping.
But Clinton arose and confounded his foes,
The cunning old fox had only been sleeping."

It is the glory of Daniel D. Tompkins that in co-operation with that most distinguished citizen of our County of his time, Chief Justice John Jay, he passed the law under which, giving ten years to the owners to adjust themselves to the new conditions, slavery should be abolished in the State of New York.

According to some of our political philosophers, your fathers sadly misunderstood the true principles of Democracy. They had been living and exercising here for a generation pure democracy of which we hear so much. They had that ideal of direct government, the town meeting, and yet by a unanimous vote they decided to establish representative government. Six years before Fulton's invention, the first steamboat, the Clermont, had carried passengers from New York to Albany and return, and the success of the undertakings had revolution-

ized the transportation system upon the Hudson River. The farming country back to the Connecticut line was pouring in here with its products to be carried to New York, and the stores were securing from the city the supplies for this rural population. Docks and piers and wharves were required. Streets were to be laid out with some degree of uniformity. Public improvements were to be planned. An educational system was to be adopted. Mount Pleasant Academy, one of the first, and afterward one of the most famous in the State, was built the next year. From this beginning came other institutions of learning, until Ossining had a nation-wide reputation for the number and excellence of its schools. Those old-fashioned people decided that the preacher and the merchant, the lawyer and the farmer, the doctor and the mechanic, all intent upon earning a living and their energies absorbed in their own career, could not, by assembling in the public square and in open meeting, decide on the moment upon the harmonious creation and execution of all these enterprises. So they resolved to form the corporation of this village and delegate to their chosen representatives, the President, the Board of Trustees, the Highway Commissioner, the Police, the Justice of the Peace, the carrying out of their will. The prosperity of this town from that day to this, the fact that there has never been a single voice raised to return to the old town-meeting system, is the emphatic verdict of one hundred years of experience for representative government.

Permit me to tell of two experiences of my own connected with your village. About fifty years ago I delivered an address before the Westchester County Bible Society. Among those in attendance was the Reverend Doctor Phraner, for a half century pastor of one of your churches, and who passed away recently venerable and universally respected in his ninety-odd years of age. Some time after the meeting of the Bible Society he called upon me at my home in Peekskill and suggested that as a young lawyer I should move to Sing Sing and make it my home. The reason he gave was that the local lawyers were a bad lot. I knew those local lawyers, and several of them, especially the late Francis Larkin, were very able and very honorable members of the bar.

When I first ran for the Lower House of our New York Legislature fifty-two years ago, I was told that unless I secured the support of one of your most active citizens, an eccentric and successful man, I could not be elected. I addressed a meeting in the public square, and afterward this gentleman insisted upon adjourning to the American House for refreshments. At that time temperance was unknown. It was an insult to refuse a drink. Most of the public men whom I met in the Legislature died from alcoholism. I had very decided notions for my own future on this question, but at the same time I could not afford to offend this prominent politician. So I arranged with the bartender to give me mint juleps, innocent of anything but water and mint, while my host indulged in his favorite whiskey. At midnight I had defied microbes and germs by swallowing about a gallon of Sing Sing water, and he about the same quantity of Sing Sing whiskey. He stumped the district afterward for me both times I ran, declaring everywhere that I had a great future before me because I was a second Daniel Webster and had the strongest head in the State of New York.

The inspiration of the young people of Westchester in every generation has been the distinguished men who have honored its history. Of the Revolutionary period few in our country were as eminent as John Jay, the first Chief Justice of the United States, and the diplomat who negotiated our first treaty with Great Britain which secured to our country inestimable benefits, and the picturesque Gouverneur Morris, soldier, diplomat, man of letters and wit, and the friend of Washington. It was in his little cottage at Fordham that Edgar Allen Poe wrote "Annabel Lee" and "The Bells," near him Rodman Drake sang of the flag and its significance, and Woodworth gave to the world that never-to-be-forgotten ballad "The Old Oaken Bucket." Fenimore Cooper, at his home in Mamaroneck, failed in his first essay in literature, but while visiting the venerable John Jay at his home in Bedford he heard the story of Enoch Crosby, the spy of the Revolution. No more resourceful, daring and courageous gatherer of secret information at daily peril of his life from the officers of both armies ever lived than Enoch Crosby. He had the entire confidence of

General Washington, but necessarily could not have that of others, and was often in more danger that he would be caught with the loyalists whom he had betrayed from our own troops than from the enemy. He enlisted in the Continental Army about the time of the Battle of Lexington, and filed with Washington only one request when he undertook the dangerous task of a spy, that if caught and executed his name should be vindicated. His exploits were so remarkable, his escapes so marvelous, his accomplishments so miraculous that it only needed the touch of genius to picture the facts to make a story of absorbing interest. James Fenimore Cooper's genius was equal to the task. The "Spy" made his reputation immediately, and he became one of the foremost of American authors. Cooper, you remember, calls Crosby in the novel *Harvey Birch*. Crosby resided in the village, and his son lived and died here.

Washington Irving lived for thirty years your neighbor at Sunnyside, and there wrote his immortal life of General Washington. The suggestion and the inspiration came because he had never forgotten that as a little boy Washington had placed his hand on his head with a cheerful salute, and that at Sunnyside and at Wolfert's Roost he was surrounded by the atmosphere of Washington's achievements.

Close by was White Plains, Washington's first great battle, and Dobbs Ferry, where Washington and Rochambeau met and organized the Yorktown campaign which ended the war, and where the army encamped at the close of the war prior to its triumphal entry into New York upon its evacuation by the British.

Above him was Verplanck's Point, where Washington and Rochambeau, after the declaration of peace, gave a final review of their two armies, and Rochambeau, noting the wonderful improvement of the American troops since he first saw them, said to Washington, "Your army looks like an army of Prussians," at that time the highest compliment a military man could convey, for it meant the veterans of Frederick the Great.

Irving had redeemed American literature from the reproach of the Edinburgh reviewer contained in the question, "Who reads an American book?" But he did more for our neighborhood in peopling its shores by the legend of Sleepy

Hollow, and the sleep of Rip Van Winkle, and the Voyages of the Dutch Navigators on the Hudson, so that while we have not the legends of the Rhine, we have beautiful tales of love, adventure, domestic felicity and infelicity, with some of the mysterious and the supernatural, to add to the incomparable physical beauties of our Hudson River.

Among the successful men of this town were Admiral Worden who, in command of the *Monitor* in the battle of Chesapeake Bay, ended the naval power of the Confederacy. Darius Ogden Mills, who became one of the founders of the State of California, and John T. Hoffman, Governor of our State.

An incident too trivial to find a place in the pages of the sober histories is nevertheless a tradition of sufficient local interest to be recorded. The Count de Rochambeau, when he received orders from home to take his army to Newport and embark for the West Indies, was encamped on the Crumpond Road, a few miles to the north. As he was mounted and about to march, surrounded by his brilliant staff, and followed by his army of six thousand veterans, a constable stepped up and said, "Sir, you are under arrest." "What for?" said the astonished hero of many battlefields in Europe and of glorious achievement in America. "Because," said the constable, "your soldiers have used an orchard for firewood, and the owner has sworn out a warrant against you as an absconding debtor." The monumental and colossal audacity of the situation touched the French humor of the Count and he inquired how great was the demand. The answer was "Three thousand dollars in gold," which was more than any entire farm was worth in that neighborhood at that period, when it took one thousand dollars of Continental currency to buy a pair of boots. However, the Count left a thousand dollars, the issue to be decided by the court, and the damage was ultimately assessed by the man's neighbors at four hundred dollars.

De Tocqueville who, next to James Bryce, is the only foreigner who ever understood and eloquently wrote about our institutions. Standing on the heights in the rear of this village, and gazing upon the Hudson, he said, "I must except

the Bay of Naples because of the opinion of the civilized world, but with that exception the world has no such scenery."

It was a happy incident and a wonderful foresight which located your village on the site of this encampment of the Mohegan Indians. We who were born along this river may travel all over the world, may admit the beauty or the grandeur of other spots famed for their picturesqueness and beauty, but we return to the Hudson convinced that it has no superior, and doubtful if it has any equal. The four-pounder which from Teller's Point was so instrumental in saving American independence has on every Fourth of July from the square in your village been an added inspiration to patriotism and good citizenship. It sent forth at the beginning of the Civil War as gallant a company as fought on either side during that memorable struggle. The year after the formation of the corporation of your village the War of 1812 between the United State and Great Britain was brought to a close by the Treaty of Ghent. Next year will be celebrated one hundred years of peace between the mother country and ours. In the meantime these two English-speaking people have grown to a dominant influence in the affairs of the world and in the advancement of its civilization and liberties. This one hundred years of peace has been of benefits so incalculable that they can only be imagined, they cannot be adequately portrayed. You, in common with all the world in your century so coincident with this one hundred years of peace, have been conspicuously the participants of its blessings. I devoutly hope that continuing prosperity may mark each succeeding one hundredth birthday of your town, and that the five hundredth may have a civic celebration which will be of as great general interest to our country as the five hundredth of Heidelberg was to Germany.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Dinner Given by the Lotos Club, Satur-
day Evening, October 25, 1913, to His Serene
Highness, Prince Albert of Monaco.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: For about half a century this club has been entertaining men of eminence in every department of endeavor. It loves to decorate achievement. Those distinguished in literature, in journalism, in art upon the dramatic and the lyric stage, by invention or discovery, have received our welcome, and also the accidents of politics, like Presidents and Governors.

This is the first time that we have been honored by the presence of a reigning sovereign. It is not on account of his hereditary rank that we are glad to see him, but because he is much more than a reigning sovereign—a scientist of world-wide fame and an inventor and discoverer. The learned societies of many capitals have paid him high compliments, elected him to their membership. As a yachtsman he appeals to our sporting sense. Our people gained a fondness for the sea when one hundred men, women and children braved its dangers and sought its safety on the *Mayflower* of seventy tons in 1620. True to their ideals, they have reached in less than three hundred years over ninety millions, the conquest of a continent and one of the world powers of the globe. This mastery of the sea was with John Paul Jones, the founder of our Navy, and subsequently with our clipper ships which were the despair of maritime nations. When unwise partisan legislation took our mercantile marine off the ocean and banished our flag from the ports of the world, our sporting spirit kept alive the spirit of the seas through our yachts, bringing over in their first contest the International Cup and keeping it since against all competitors.

Still, it is not as a yachtsman that we welcome the Prince. It is because of the wonderful things he does with his yacht. Poets have sung through all the ages of the music of the spheres. It became a fixed tradition that the myriad stars in

the Milky Way, and other myriad stars in other milky ways, again and again filling the immeasurable universe, were held in their places as suns, and revolving in their orbits, because of the music of the spheres.

But now the American admiral in midocean lifts his cap as there comes from the air the strain of "The Star Spangled Banner"; the English admiral bares his head as there comes to him the music of "God Save the King," while the German pays his tribute to "The Watch on the Rhine." There, in calm or in storm, these patriotic airs come to those naval officers' ears from an invisible choir. We cannot explore, we are unable to explain, the mastery of the music of the spheres, but these national anthems, flowing on the waves of the air, are sent forth by an invention of the Prince from the deck of his yacht through a wireless telephone. Statesmen of all countries, while preaching peace, are working with feverish haste to enlarge the size and increase the number of their dreadnoughts and to stimulate inventive genius to discover new elements of destruction. Perhaps there may be here a potent agency for universal peace. It may be that with these great fleets listening to the invisible choir, giving them interchangeably each other's inspiration of their national anthems, that the harmony which conquers wild beasts and leads them to follow the player, may first temper and then allay the passions for war.

The wireless machinery of the Prince's yacht is so powerful that it keeps him always in touch with one continent or the other. His own inventive mind has added many things to its usefulness. We live in an age of wonders. They are so common that they have ceased either to excite our admiration or stir our blood. It is a rare event that makes men or women now rise up and take notice, but the records of time may be searched and nowhere can be found any event which so touches the human heart and so stirs the imagination as the rescue of the passengers of the unfortunate *Volturmo*. But for the wireless, it would have been another of those tragedies of the sea which are never accounted for and whose victims are never heard from. The hero of the hour is the wireless operator who, without exception, stands by his post until the last

moment, and, with the captain, is the last to leave the ship. The cries of seven hundred human beings concentrated in these electric waves went north, south, east and west. They reached the Englishman, one hundred miles distant, and the German, one hundred and twenty-five, and the Frenchman, one hundred and fifty, and with doubled speed all altered their courses and flew to the rescue. The oil tank steamer, also illustrating modern invention, arrived to throw upon the mountain waves the calming influence of oil.

When future generations look back to this age, this instance will stand out conspicuously among its many marvels, and when the heroes of this age take their niches in the temple of fame, one of the highest will be occupied by the statue of Marconi.

All the scientific talent of the Middle Ages was devoted to turning the baser metals into gold. Alchemy, with its one purpose to discover gold, was the pursuit and the bane of genius. This age has learned much easier methods of securing gold. It is not by finding it in the results of the retort and the laboratory, nor in the hazards and accidents of gold mining, but it is by possessing that talent for organization which controls the necessities of life. The Trusts have done much to accumulate gold for a few, but there arises now and then a special master of men and of markets who, with no other advantages than are possessed by his neighbors, becomes supreme by the possession of the talent for acquisition of the precious metal. A conspicuous example came to our people and to the world by the death of the merchant Altman. With the same tools, under the same laws, and with equal opportunities of his neighbors and competitors during his life, he nevertheless leaves his vast business to those who have been his associates, and to the city in which he had his opportunity a priceless gift of unequaled and unsurpassed works of art for the education of succeeding generations until the end of time.

The scientific mind of our day, however, is devoted entirely to the benefit and uplifting of the human race. It abandons the fields for gain and enters the laboratories in the research work which is minimizing the dangers of disease and

extirpating the perils of plagues. It is risking life in adventure to probe the secrets and reduce still further to the service of mankind the sea and the air. It is in this field that our guest has won his chief distinction. His yacht is his home, a pleasure boat and a laboratory. He has found things about currents and tides which are of great value to the navigator. He has dropped his search line five miles into the ocean, and biologists in all countries have learned by his discoveries. He has found that there are living creatures in these vast depths which bear a pressure of the water above them beyond the weight of the Washington Monument or of Westminster Abbey. They relieve this easily borne pressure for new fields by rising gradually until a million tons becomes a thousand, and a thousand becomes a hundred, then there is no pressure at all on the surface. But the explorations from the yacht have demonstrated that when these living organisms are pulled suddenly to the surface they die from the want of pressure. That is a brand-new discovery. Our graveyards are filled with those who died from too much pressure. Pressure on the brain from overwork, pressure upon overloaded stomachs, pressure upon overcharged kidneys, pressure from worry and anxiety and from overstrained nerves keep the undertaker busy and furnish the grave digger with his living. So, it is a pleasure to learn that there are living things in this world who die for want of pressure. The example seems to enforce the old-fashioned lesson of moderation; not too much pressure to kill, not too little to take away ambition, but just enough pressure for success and longevity.

This lengthened line has contributed another blow to our most cherished beliefs. This line of the poet has always been a favorite: "Full many a gem of purest ray serene, the dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear." The Prince has fathomed those caves. There are no gems of purest ray there. This beautiful and hopeful creation of the imagination takes its place under practical examination with the silver lining of the clouds. We all know the story of the two busted speculators who used their last money to buy a balloon, equipped it with the proper instruments and rose above the clouds to corner the silver.

The people are always interested in the sports of their rulers. They delight to know that the King, or the Prince, or the President plays. They are mighty curious to know how he does it. The race course is said to be the sport of kings, and so it is. Every crowned head in Europe goes with his family to the races, and if you are in Paris on a certain day in June, you will see the President of the Republic in his State Coach, with outriders and an escort of cavalry, going on Sunday morning to the Grand Prix. The great race of England is the Derby. But our Presidents cannot indulge in this sport of Kings and French Presidents because the only official who is conspicuous upon our race course is the sheriff. King Edward won the Derby. King George is the best shot on the grouse moors in Great Britain. He escapes from appeals which may be made to him from David Lloyd George, John Redmond or Sir Edward Carson to use or not to use the veto power by rejoicing in his prowess in phenomenal bags of birds. The Czar and the Kaiser chase the deer through the forests, while the King of Italy, reviving as he is constantly doing with the applause of his people the prestige and power of Ancient Rome, renews the life in his Virgil and Horace, by chasing the wild boar over the hills.

The only sport which seems to be reserved for our Presidents is golf. Having watched them at golf, I think I see the reason for it. When the President, after an hour of unsuccessful struggle with the Senators and Members of Congress of his party to make them follow his lead, is stripped for the fray and has the weapon in his hand and sees the little ball on the ground, that ball grows to the size of a Senator. When he swats it, he takes a mental satisfaction in the discipline. When he puts in the hole, he says, "Mr. Senator from New York, I reckon you will now support my currency suggestions."

Pessimists are always despairing of the Republic. There is, however, no reason for this. We have both patriots among our people who are generally right though sometimes mistaken and efficient public servants. An incident, which occurred to a friend of mine when he recently landed from Europe, proves this efficiency. He brought with him a large number of

pheasants he had shot in England. As game birds, they are admissible under the law; as plumage, prohibited by the new tariff. The genius of the inspectors was equal to the occasion. They sat down on the dock, plucked the feathers, threw them into the harbor and then delivered the game.

The late Governor Woodruff was a member of this club. He was one of the most genial, most lovable and most capable men in either social or political life. Truly of him it may be said, "None knew him but to love him." He had a camp in the Adirondacks, called "Kill Kare." He loved to entertain statesmen there by the score. At the other end of the lake he had two bears chained to a rock. They were trained to entertain the statesmen. He knew that to kill a bear was a distinction highly prized by a Governor. These bears were trained so that, with their acute wild hearing and sight, the moment the gun flashed they dropped. I think they survived several years, contributing to the hunting stories of the amateur sportsmen.

I reject with scorn the suggestion that Buffalo Bill had for his distinguished guest, the Prince, a trained grizzly bear. I am sure that the Prince was so fine a sportsman that his unerring aim brought down his grizzly.

Well, gentlemen, we hope that this sportsman, scientist, inventor, explorer, discoverer and true democrat, will continue his beneficent career and round out, as long as he wishes, life after his century has closed.

SPEECH BY HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Annual Dinner of the St. Nicholas
Society of New York at Delmonico's, December
6, 1913.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE ST. NICHOLAS SOCIETY: It gives me great pleasure to be once more with my brethren of St. Nicholas. During the almost half century that I have been a member, I can recall very few occasions when there were so many acute questions agitating the public mind. As a rule neither politics nor religion are permitted on our festive occasions.

We meet to celebrate the virtues of our ancestors, to congratulate them upon what they did for humanity in imperishable principles which have survived all the ages, and upon their good judgment in selecting New York as the place to which they would carry their brains, their faith, their enterprise and their integrity. We congratulate ourselves that we had such intelligent, far-seeing and admirable forebears.

During the stress and anxieties of the Civil War we departed frequently from our custom to consider, because we could not help it, questions which so nearly affected our country, ourselves and our posterity. If serious topics are to be considered, there is among the descendants of the Dutch a broader-minded and more charitable platform than can be found anywhere else.

New York is famous for the societies organized by the different nationalities which constitute its cosmopolitan population, and all of them have for their main purpose keeping alive the traditions of the Fatherland, but incidentally they are charitable organizations with large funds. Those funds are constantly called upon to meet the necessities of newly arrived or shipwrecked members of their race. It is a fine tribute to the strength of the old Holland stock that the thrift, which made them in the middle ages the merchants and bankers of the world, has descended so unimpaired to us that, while we also have a charitable fund, there are no applicants for its benefits and there are no beneficiaries charged upon it.

In the darkness of the middle ages Holland was the beacon light for civil and religious liberty. All around was intellectual darkness and religious bigotry and persecution, but the Protestant, the Catholic and the Jew, fleeing from persecution, found hospitality in Holland. There they could exercise their faith with independence and liberty so long as they did not interfere with the liberty of others. It was this asylum, protecting the bigoted and narrow-minded Puritans fleeing from England, that transformed them in little more than ten years into that broad-minded and liberty-loving little band of Pilgrims, which, in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, formed the constitution upon which rests our institutions.

It is an interesting fact that after the people of Leyden were relieved from the siege, during which they had endured with wonderful courage untold privations and sufferings, when they were asked what reward they desired as a monument to their loyalty and patriotism, their answer was, "Give us a university." That university is still one of the best seats of learning there is in the world. The results of this liberal mindedness was that the Hollanders gave in that dark age to literature and law Erasmus, Grotius and others whose books are living lessons to-day, and to art Rubens, Rembrandt, Paul Potter and other immortals, whose works now command prices which in the aggregate would be almost equal to the assessed value of the entire property of Holland. I sometimes wonder what Rembrandt and Rubens in the other world must say to each other when they find the pictures which yielded them about one hundred dollars, or at the most four hundred a piece, are bought by American collectors for five hundred thousand dollars, a sum so vast as compared with the money values in times in which they lived and the figures with which they were familiar that it is possible that even as spirits they are not able to grasp them.

I believe that it is impossible in any gathering now to avoid a word upon current conditions; they are too novel and have a future so full of hope or peril, that we cannot help expressing our thoughts. In my college days at Yale, New England clergymen were never permitted to mention politics in their sermons, but on Thanksgiving Day the pent-up pas-

sions of the year were given free and unrestrained expression. One of the greatest preachers in New England of that period was the Rev. Dr. Leonard Bacon of the Center Church, New Haven. He was a great theologian, but nature had built him for a statesman. He was an intense abolitionist while his congregation was composed mostly of the rich merchants and manufacturers who were selling their goods to Southern slaveholders, so the iniquities of slavery were tabooed and their consciences were closed by the weight of their pocketbooks. On Thanksgiving Day Dr. Bacon had his opportunity; he scarified these commercial Christians with words of living fire, he endeavored to reach their consciences, or, if they had none, to implant some in them; he drew pictures of the horrors of slavery which have never been equalled, he lashed the sinners in a vain effort to drive them to the performance of their Christian patriotic and civic duties. Such an effort on the part of Dr. Bacon on any other Sunday would have led to his immediate dismissal from the church, but in the freedom of Thanksgiving Day these sinners listened, went home, gorged themselves with the enormous amount of the good things which make a Thanksgiving dinner and then complacently patting their stomachs remarked to one another, "The Doctor was never so fine as to-day."

Suppose this is our Thanksgiving Day, though I am far from being Dr. Bacon. We have just had in our city the most remarkable election in recent times; it seems to indicate a revival of civic duty and interest in public affairs among all our citizens, which promises good government for all the future. The press and the people are predicting that this is the end of Tammany Hall, and there is an open revolt within the walls of that ancient organization which threatens its disruption. Much as we would like such an event to come about, I warn you, as the result of my long experience in politics, covering a period greater than most of you have lived, that this end of Tammany will not occur. An organization, which has lasted so long and is so deeply embedded in our civic life, cannot be put out of business in one election. Recently I had occasion, in preparing an historical address, to look into the conditions prevailing in our city a hundred years ago. I

found that DeWitt Clinton was running for Governor, and the issue was, should the Erie Canal be built or not? Clinton stood for the construction of the canal; that great waterway, opening as it did the Great Lakes to the ocean, was one of the main factors in settling the West and Northwest, in making New York the Empire State and our City the Metropolis of the continent.

Tammany of that day, a century ago, went to Clinton and wanted to know if he would give them the contracts for the construction of the canal. He positively refused and announced that they would be given impartially to the highest bidders and the construction supervised by State officials. Tammany thereupon decided against Clinton and especially against the extravagance of this project, shouting that it would bankrupt the State and be of no benefit. Clinton was triumphantly elected and the Erie Canal constructed. Everybody at that time joyously predicted the fall of Tammany Hall and its final disruption. A large number of its membership left and joined in the general condemnation. One hundred years have passed during which Tammany has had many crises, some defeats and many victories, but it is still in the ring. The reason is in our human nature. People love to fight in a compact and militant organization. There are still thousand upon thousands who would rather take their chances of sharing in "honest graft" than join in an effort to make it impossible.

There is a singular indifference to the manner in which public moneys are spent and that indifference enables the contractor to have his opportunity. So long as the contractor can control party leaders and the organization, and the party organization can control public officers who give the contracts and the inspectors who supervise their performance, so long we will have the contractors generally successful, so long we will have the millions of dollars voted for good roads, which ought to be permanent and whose benefits are incalculable, squandered upon mud substitutes which disappear with the rains, the snows and the frosts.

We are again, for the few times fortunately in our history, having an acute crisis in our neighboring republic of

Mexico. When there is danger of our country being involved in war, it is the duty of the good citizen to support the President. In the patriotism, good intentions and high intelligence of Mr. Wilson we all have confidence. His declaration, that so long as he can prevent it there will be no armed intervention and, therefore, no bloody war, is heartily approved, but his view of the duty of the United States in the Mexican crisis is certainly novel and questionable. It is that our Government will not recognize Huerta as President and that Huerta must not be a candidate for re-election, and that if he is re-elected, we will still refuse to recognize him as President of Mexico. This is a curious position and we wonder where the authority is for the President of one Republic to say to the President of another that he must get out and that he cannot be reinstated even by the people.

I have a friend, a very intelligent man, who has lived for twenty years in Mexico. He writes me, "All my interests, business and accumulations are in this country, my family is here, my children have grown up here, I have no place in the United States, and here I must remain. Under the provisions of the Mexican constitution, if the President and the Vice-President resign or die, the Mexican Congress elects a provisional President who holds office until the next election. The present Congress was elected with Madero and is, therefore, legitimately in office; it has with unanimity elected Huerta provisional President; his title, therefore, is constitutional and legal. On this account every other nation in the world, except the United States, has recognized the President and his government. The failure of the United States to do so, and especially the declaration that he must resign or the government will never be recognized, has had most disastrous results. It has started up marauding bands of banditti all over the country, who say that under this attitude of the United States the Monroe doctrine will protect them from foreign intervention and that the sympathies of the American Government will be with them rather than with the legitimate government of the country. This attitude of the United States has wrecked the credit of Mexico so that she cannot borrow money to meet her obligations or enforce the laws. If the United States

had recognized Huerta, as all other governments did," this gentleman says, "that Huerta, who is a trained soldier and a strong man, would within three months have dispersed the bandits, restored peace, order and law and protection for lives and property throughout the Republic," but now, he thinks, the result will be chaos. The attitude of our President is called "watchful waiting"; it seems to be rather an adoption of Christian Science methods. I believe that the faith inculcated by Christian Science healers in many instances and upon many temperaments is eminently successful, but its efficacy on a nation of sixteen millions of people, only three millions of whom can read or write is at least an interesting experiment.

There has been much criticism of the diplomatic appointments of this administration. I have been familiar with all of our Ministers and Ambassadors to Great Britain since the Civil War. They have been a very remarkable and distinguished selection of diplomats. I met our present Ambassador, Mr. Page, in London last summer, and I believe that he will line up to the full stature of what is expected of an American Ambassador to the Court of St. James. I was amused by the report in one of our papers of a banquet given to one of the departing diplomats by his fellow citizens in the West. In his speech he is reported to have said, "I was born in Europe; when I became of age I had two ambitions: the first to get rich—I have accomplished that by coming here and going into the brewery business; my second was to get into good society, and, therefore, I have sought and secured the appointment to the Balkan States." Let us hope that the society among these mountaineers will meet his highest expectations of what good society is.

We of the St. Nicholas are grateful to the President for the selection that he has made of our Minister to Holland. Never has there been a more ideal selection of Ministers to the Netherlands than Dr. Van Dyke. His name is Dutch, his ancestry Dutch; he represents the highest type of intellectual and patriotic Americans and will shed lustre upon the office, his country and his race, whose virtues we are celebrating here to-night. All hail to Minister Van Dyke!

We are next year to celebrate with imposing ceremonies on both sides of the Atlantic the completion of a hundred years of peace between the United States and Great Britain. It is a most inspiring event and the results of this century of peace upon the history of the world, the welfare of humanity, the advance of civilization and the enlargement of liberty are simply incalculable. Already committees have been formed in this country and Great Britain, who are preparing a program of historical interest and importance. But another centennial has been lost sight of. It is of peculiar importance here to-night. This year is the hundredth anniversary of the liberty of Holland, which should be celebrated by every person who has Holland blood in his or her veins with gratitude and enthusiasm.

Napoleon had taken Holland under his authority by making the Dutch accept his brother Joseph as their King. Joseph, finding that he could not protect his people against the rapacity of his mighty brother, resigned his office. All the healthy young men of the country were drafted into the French Army; most of them had been lost in the disastrous Russian campaign; taxes had been imposed to an extent that was confiscatory, the decrees and embargoes of Napoleon had ruined the commerce upon which Holland depended for her living as well as her prosperity.

Patriotic citizens met, as they had done many times in preceding centuries in stress of national disaster, to consider the situation and the means necessary to rescue their country. They organized and drove out the French Army. They then appealed to the Prince of Orange, who was living in London, to come over and lead them. The Prince replied, "I will if you will establish a government where the ruler rules by the consent of the governed and with a constitution which creates a representative parliament." As the heads of the House of Orange had done for centuries, this Prince organized a Dutch Army and expelled the enemy beyond the frontier. At Waterloo he and his soldiers performed prodigies of valor and contributed materially to the victory over Napoleon. When he was wounded, he tore from his uniform the decorations which he had won on many battlefields, and tossing them to his

troops, said, "If I die they are yours, for you have assisted in winning them."

In the peace that followed, the independence of Holland was recognized and has been successfully maintained for a hundred years. During that period Holland has fully sustained her position among the nations of the world in the liberality of her institutions, in the hospitality of her people, in the enterprise of her merchants, and in the devotion of her citizens to their country and their God.

The cry with which they welcomed the Prince of Orange and which rang through every hamlet and every cottage in the land was "Oranje Boven." The motto of this society is "Oranje Boven"; let us here to-night rise and joyously celebrate this hundredth birthday of the renewed liberty and restoration of Holland by shouting with cheers and in unison, "Oranje Boven"!

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

at the Dinner by the Lotos Club to Howard Elliott, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R. Co., December 13, 1913.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: I have had a half century of opportunity for the intimate study of railway presidents. When I became attorney for the railway company forty-eight years ago, the three great presidents who filled the front page of the newspapers and occupied the attention of the country were William H. Vanderbilt, Col. Thomas Scott and John W. Garrett.

Commodore Vanderbilt began with the Harlem Railroad, one hundred and twenty-eight miles long; he and his son, William H., and his sons extended the system until it is now over twenty thousand miles. Col. Thomas Scott and his successors in the Pennsylvania, have done the same for that system, and John W. Garrett and his successors in the Baltimore & Ohio, a similar work in that system.

There is only half a century between that period and now, a mere tick in the watch in the progress of time, but in the evolution of our country a greater progress and development than ever known before among any people or any nation.

It is well known that every mile of railroad into new territory brings into existence the settlement and cultivation of several hundred farms. It is well known that without transportation facilities between farm and market, the richest agricultural country in the world is a desert and industrial cities cannot either be created or exist.

The early part of this period was one of development of the country by the extension of railroads. The offices of the president of that period were filled with citizens begging for railroad extension; they had no money, they depended upon getting railroad facilities, and they wanted capital to invest for their benefit and take all the chances of the investment. It was an agricultural section that might be brought into settle-

ment and development; it was a water power through which industries and a manufacturing town might be created; it was an ambitious city which with further facilities at the expense of the railroad could enlarge the area of its market.

Immediately following the citizens desiring these facilities came the promoters. This period furnished the greatest opportunities for this class of idealists. I came to have the largest admiration for the imagination and hopeful audacity of these rainbow chasers. They became so numerous that they were assigned to me and had to get through my office to see the president. We now have become accustomed to millions, multi-millions and billions, but I have seen visions of untold millions rise in airy clouds before my eyes while the eloquent promoter was expending his scheme, to be dissipated by the cold breath of a hard fact, or the lack of hard cash.

Dickens had only a limited field when he drew the character of Macawber. If he had sat in my chair, Macawber would have been a pygmy of airy opportunity compared with my promoters. I remember one of most impressive personal appearance and apparent prosperity. He carried a large map in his hand and with extraordinary skill he started it with a push and it rolled across the floor. With his cane he developed his plan. "There are the railroads under Vanderbilt control, there is the territory of the Pennsylvania, there that of the Baltimore & Ohio, there is what the aggressive systems west of Chicago are going to do in the East. When their plans are completed you will see that the territory of the Vanderbilt System will be bottled up and its revenues destroyed. I am here to save the situation. This red line marks my road. I have tentative options upon part of it. An initial advance of thirty millions of dollars is the premium upon the insurance policy which saves your system, otherwise sure death awaits it." I said, "My friend, do you remember what Bismarck remarked to the King of Prussia, afterwards the Kaiser of Germany, when at the commencement of the Franco-Prussian War the King was discussing the map of Europe? Bismarck remarked, 'Your Majesty, roll up the map of Europe.'" Said the promoter, "I know you are a joker, Mr. Depew, but this is no joking matter, it is the salvation of your clients and of

the thousands of men in the employ of the railroad." I said, "It is because of the importance of the subject that I use so distinguished an illustration as Bismarck and Emperor William." He said, "If you must have your joke, I suppose it means that I am to roll up this map." I said, "Yes, Your Majesty." "And you will have nothing to do with my plans?" "No." "And you will not report it?" "No." "Well, will you give me a pass back home?"

Now the difference between the railroad president of that period and the railway president of to-day in authority and power is wonderful. Those railway presidents were popular, the railway presidents of to-day are the most criticized officials in the country. There were no restrictions upon the earlier presidents either by the United States or the several States; they were not hampered to any considerable extent by labor unions; their authority was practically unlimited, and also their power for good or evil. The presidents were broad-minded and patriotic. Troubles came because the same arbitrary power naturally went to the heads of the freight department, the passenger department and the other departments of the company. These minor men became local tyrants and created abuses in discriminations which led to popular indignation and restrictive legislation. They were all generals—General Freight Agent and Assistant General Freight Agent, General Passenger Agent and Assistant General Passenger Agent, General Traffic Manager and Assistant General Traffic Manager, General Superintendent and Assistant General Superintendent, etc., until it was something like a Mexican Army.

I remember being at a dinner at the United States Hotel in Saratoga with Mr. Vanderbilt—he was a modest and retiring gentleman—when a loud voice at the table in the rear of us was arousing the attention of everybody. The voice said, "Send me the head waiter," and the head waiter came. "Are you the head waiter?" "Yes, sir." "I want you to understand there is nothing in this hotel that is too good for me. I am Assistant General Passenger Agent of the New York Central Railroad." That man and his like have disappeared from the railroad service.

Railway presidents of to-day have tremendous responsi-

bilities and very little power. Their offices are crowded with the representatives of the various unions on the line demanding increase in pay; with citizens complaining of rates; with reporters wanting to know what defense they have to offer for the accident which has happened; with process servers summoning them before some State or Interstate Commerce Commission or Grand Jury. In the Pirates of Penzance the policeman sings, "The policeman's lot is not a happy one."

The Government, National and State, have practically all power now over the roads; no expenditure can be made, no debt can be increased, no line can be extended, no rate can be fixed, no function whatever can be performed without consent of one, or all of these Commissions. It is power without responsibility as to results. On the other hand, the Labor Unions have grown into such strength that they absolutely control the wages, hours, discharge for any cause and conditions of service among all the employees of the railroads.

The president is expected to satisfy by his administration the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Commissions of the several States through which his line runs, the employees of the company, the public who travel and who send their products over his line, the cities which are eternally wanting greater terminal facilities and larger and more magnificent depots, and the stockholders who expect some return upon their investment. For every accident he is responsible and of every labor difficulty he is the cause.

The railroad president of to-day needs to be a statesman of broad knowledge and economic information, of large experience in public affairs as well as in the operation of his railroad, of that rarest tact which keeps harmony with employees and at the same time serves the public. He needs a knowledge of the law which will enable him to guide his administration through the conflicting statutes of the various States. In the early days the president's closest association was with the Freight Department, from whence came the most of his money; the Passenger Department, from which came the most of his troubles, and the Operating Department, which was nearest the people. To-day he is closest to the Law Department. The General Counsel must be at his elbow, when what is lawful in

one State is unlawful in another, and sometimes both unlawful under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, to keep the president out of jail.

It is said that an ambitious and talented young man asked the head of one of our great technical schools how long it would take him and how much it would cost to be an expert railway man and to become president of a system. The teacher replied, "If you want to master the most difficult problem of to-day, which is railroad transportation and the management and operating of railways, so as to become a president, it will take seven years in time, and, economically used, ten thousand dollars in money. If you want to become a Congressman or Legislator fully capacitated to solve these problems without effort, it will take three months of time and one hundred dollars."

The present situation demonstrates how absurd it is to restrict the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission by the Sherman Anti-Trust Act or any other restrictive legislation. That Commission represents the people, and is alone competent to do the right thing and should have power commensurate with its responsibilities.

The parcel post, long demanded and a public necessity, invades the whole field of express service. The express companies pay to the railroad one half of their receipts for the transportation and expedition of their matter. The Government has not as yet paid to the railroads one dollar for carrying the parcel post, but the Interstate Commerce Commission has demanded that the express companies reduce their rates twenty-five per cent.—a decision difficult to understand so long as the Government is doing the same business by the parcel post in competition with the express companies. If the Government is to be fair in this competition, it would be good business to let the express companies charge more than the Government, which would necessarily carry the business to the cheapest carrier, but to compel the express companies, in addition to this competition, to reduce their rates to a non-paying basis, looks to the lay mind like confiscation.

The railroads of the country are being starved. They have expended in improvements, extensions and betterments for

the people within the last three years over six hundred millions of dollars. Their gross receipts have increased about two hundred millions, but, owing to the increase in wages in 1910 and 1913, amounting, I think, to over sixty millions, and increase in cost of materials, the net this year was sixteen millions of dollars less than it was three years ago. In other words, the railroads have not received a dollar of return on their investment of six hundred millions, paid wholly for the public convenience and benefit. The public is the beneficiary, receiving the improved service and the additional taxes, because when a railway company spends many millions for a depot made more artistic and extensive to satisfy local pride, the new station earns nothing on the investment, but the local authorities add its cost to their assessment for taxes against the railroad.

Those who oppose the present application for a very slight increase in the railway rates cite one prosperous road, the Lackawanna, but they fail to note that others, like the New Haven, are being starved, not permitted to meet, in the only way a railroad company can meet increasing operating expenses, by increased rates for doing the business. I know of one railroad, not a very great, but still an important one, which by the first increase in wages was put out of dividend paying, and by the second increase will fail this year to meet fixed charges. To put that road in the hands of a receiver means poorer service to the territory through which it runs; it means depreciation instead of maintenance and stagnation instead of improvement, all of them injurious to the unfortunate producers in that territory, while an increase of rates sufficient to meet these obligations and keep up the line would be so small that neither the producer nor the consumer would feel it at all. It is estimated that the additional cost per household from the advanced charges resulting from the five per cent. increase in freight rates asked by the roads would average but thirty cents a year. This is all that the average family of the country would contribute toward the sixty millions of dollars' increase in wages which the railroads have given their employees in the past three years.

Mr. Prouty, the distinguished chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, says that the advance asked for by the railroads might be granted if the Commissioners knew what they would do with the money. The Commission practically controls that, and at this day of publicity, frequent reports to Interstate and State Commissions, unlimited power to investigate and an enlightened conscience among railway executives—it is safe and wise to trust the companies. It is patriotic also, for the process of starvation cannot go much further without producing financial and industrial disaster involving the whole country.

The morning papers tell the glad news of the recovery of the stolen Mona Lisa, the masterpiece of Leonardo da Vinci. When the find was announced in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, these statesmen were in a wild scrimmage with fist and feet, but instantly the fight stopped and the Chamber resumed the dignity of the ancient Roman Senate.

The whole world rejoices in the saving of this incomparable portrait with her tantalizing smile and witching eyes. Let us hope that the news will open the orbs of the Interstate Commerce Commission and save the industrial situation of the country.

I was for twenty-five years a director of the New Haven Railroad Company prior to 1903 and am very familiar with conditions in New England, as to its industries, transportation necessities and the general distribution among the people of New Haven Railroad stock.

Mr. Elliott enters upon his work facing one of the most serious tragedies in railway history—the dividends of the stock of the New Haven Company have for forty years been the living, and in some cases the sole living, of thousands of families of limited means in the New England States. If Mr. Elliott can receive, as he ought, the help of the National and State Commissions with their supreme power, he will reincarnate and rehabilitate the New Haven System.

The New England railroads have the task in the most productive territory of the country of keeping that territory productive and growing when at the sources of its raw mate-

rial competition with its manufacturers grows more severe every year.

It is the man who ultimately counts in all railway operations. No matter how excellent or wonderful are safety appliances, the responsibility ultimately rests on the operator. In the largest degree in administration, the success or failure of a great and complicated system depends upon the executive. In the present crisis that man is Howard Elliott..

Five generals failed and lost their reputations, a hundred thousand men were needlessly sacrificed and a thousand millions of dollars lost with the Army of the Potomac before Grant took command, and Appomattox followed. I believe, and so do all of us, that the New Haven has found its Grant, and that under Elliott the system will resume its old place as one of the most productive and popular lines in the country.

ADDRESS OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

at the Dinner Given to William C. Brown by
his Official Associates at the University Club,
New York City, December 29, 1913.

MY FRIENDS: I have participated in celebrations, such as we are enjoying to-night, for nearly as many years as the age of our guest. I began way back in college days with dinners to retiring professors, and have continued since in appreciations for Presidents and ex-Presidents of the United States, Governors and ex-Governors of the State of New York, Mayors and ex-Mayors of the City of New York, and others who have attained distinction.

In nearly all festive gatherings like this, though in honor of an eminent gentleman, there is a flaw in the diamond—it is that a personal interest, suggesting gratitude for favors to come, attaches to the hospitality the hosts are giving—but to-night the diamond is absolutely pure and flawless. We are here to bid hail and farewell to our Chief upon the occasion of his retirement from his responsible position into private life, because of our admiration for him as an executive, because of the charming associations we have had with him as his colleagues, his cabinet and members of his staff, and because we love him.

There is a harmony among railway men which exists in no other profession. Rivalries among lawyers and doctors, and fierce competition between business men tend to the creation of personal animosities, but railroad officials are almost absolutely free from envy, jealousy or malice. They rejoice at the promotion of a brother in the profession and are delighted at the honors which are merited and given to their associates.

Even in the old days when there was unlimited rate-cutting to the diaster of the corporations and the public, and when the pressure from stockholders, directors and the press was brought to bear upon executives and traffic managers to break up the custom and make agreements for the main-

tenance of rates, and when, as was customary in those times, for all those who participated to endeavor before the signing and execution of the agreement, to make contracts for cut rates to the limit of its life, even then there were no animosities, only admiration for the officer who reached the telegraph office first.

Railway transportation, which has done everything for the development of the country, for its settlement, for the creation of its cities and industries, affords more opportunities for capable, resourceful and able men than there is a supply.

The difficulties, dangers and responsibilities of high executive positions in the railway, with the necessity of satisfying a Board of Directors, generally composed of the strongest men in the country, of stockholders who are anxious for a reasonable return upon their investment, and of the public, always alert and rarely satisfied, create a brotherhood among the members of our vocation. But there is quite another reason for our friendship and sympathetic unity ; it is the efforts constantly made by politicians to bar from participation in the honors of public life the two million of honest, most intelligent and worthy citizens who are in the railway service.

Railways have been unpopular and will continue in a measure to be so, because the transportation of goods and persons is in the nature of a tax. We know that for the service rendered the public pay less to the railway companies for carrying their goods and their persons than they are compelled to pay for any other service they require. Nevertheless, there would not be any hostility to a railroad man serving the public in any capacity, local or general, if it was not fomented by politicians because they think it is popular.

At a dinner last week a distinguished officer of the Government was the guest of honor. This eminent official said in effect that "one of the reforms which has been brought about by the adoption of the amendment to the Constitution for the election of United States Senators by the people, was that no railroad officer or employee could hereafter occupy a seat in the United States Senate." This prohibition is not to apply to a manufacturer who is deeply interested in the tariff, nor to a newspaper publisher who is also interested, nor to a lawyer,

nor to a doctor, nor to a minister, nor an artisan, nor to a mechanic, nor to a professional politician who lives by his wits, nor to the gambler in food products or necessities of life, but only to railroad men.

It is an assertion which has been disapproved every time a railroad man has been chosen for local or general office, that he, by reason of his association, will not give to the public unselfish and patriotic service. I believe that if a majority of Congress was composed of men in the railway service who had been trained in the school of dealing with the public, with an intimate knowledge of the needs of the village, the county, the State, and the general government, which is necessary for a railroad man, there would be much better and much more useful legislation, and so far as laws can accomplish such results, increasing prosperity and opportunity for everybody.

Chief Arthur, for many years head of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, was a man of commanding executive ability. He would have adorned the Governorship of the State of New York, or a seat in either the House of Representatives or the Senate of the United States. Politicians who thus misrepresent our profession think it is popular and safe, because railway men don't care, but some day the railway men of the country will get tired of this abuse. They possess the power through their perfect organization to retire permanently from public life all such enemies, because of the vocation they have selected for their life work.

I have known more or less intimately all of the Presidents of the United States, commencing with Abraham Lincoln, and all of the Presidents of the New York Central Railroad, commencing with Dean Richmond. Richmond was one of those original, masterful, forceful leaders of men who makes a mark upon his time. It was while I was a member of the Legislature, over fifty years ago, that I became acquainted with him. The union between the Central and the Hudson River roads had not then been made. Richmond was not only President of the New York Central, but he was the unquestioned leader of the Democratic Party in the State. His writing was the worst ever known, and could rarely be deciphered even by himself.

A story was abroad then that the Bishop of Western New York had written to him requesting a pass; he answered briefly denying the request; the Bishop thought it was a permission to ride free, it was so accepted by the conductors, and his grace, the Bishop, had transportation over the New York Central Lines for a year with the compliments of the President.

Commodore Vanderbilt, under whose administration I first came into the service, was one of those 'original geniuses with rare constructive talent who arise only once in a century. As an illustration of the difference between his time and now—though he was the richest man in the United States, though he controlled more lines of railway than any other man—he was popular with the public. It was because at that time the public wanted men like him to extend the railways for which all communities were crying, and to enlarge the facilities of existing lines. If he was alive now how different would be his position!

William H. Vanderbilt was an exceedingly able and capable executive; for his time he was better fitted for his great task than would have been his father. He suffered under that handicap which so often comes to the sons of very great men; the overshadowing genius of the father does not give to the son a due appreciation of his abilities, even if they are as great as those of his parent.

The New York Central has had several Presidents since Mr. William H. Vanderbilt. I held the office for thirteen years. Also in the list were Mr. Rutter and Mr. Callaway. Mr. Newman, whom we are all glad to greet here this evening, was one of the broadest-minded, ablest and wisest of the railway presidents of my time. When he had reached the zenith of his fame, power and usefulness, when the directors were begging him to remain, and stockholders were unanimous in wishing him to continue, and the whole employment of the service were happy and satisfied, he showed his wise, level-headedness by an act of renunciation which I have rarely witnessed. For him to stay was to hasten, by responsibilities increasing with the advancing years of his life, his entrance through the pearly gates into the other world. He knew what

this world is, what a good world it is for those who treat it right, how full it is of good people whom you can enjoy and who can enjoy you, and he made up his mind to stay here and enjoy Heaven on earth just as long as he could; certainly for the five years that he has been trying this experiment he has been most successful in health, happiness and evidences of longevity, and radiating happiness and goodwill all about him.

Mr. Brown came into the New York Central service when it needed his great talent, his executive ability and his creation and control of efficiency. The system has wonderfully prospered under his management. The most beautiful station in the world has been constructed under the most exacting conditions and greatest difficulties in the maintenance of the train service. It has been the wonder of the engineers who have visited us from other countries, that with tracks shifted every hour and blasting all about and excavating everywhere and structures going up, that the train service, so vast, so complicated, of the three lines terminating here, should have been uninterrupted. This beautiful station suggests one accomplishment of our President.

He, however, I think will be longest remembered for what he has done in bringing about harmonious and cordial relations between farmers and the railroad. The experimental farms which he has had the railroad company establish along its lines have been schools of instruction which ultimately must be efficient instructors in carrying people back to the farm, in adding to attractiveness and in reducing the cost of living.

It is a saying almost as old as the ages that "The man who makes two blades of grass grow where only one grew before is a benefactor of his race." Grass, however, feeds the cattle on a thousand hills, but Mr. Brown has succeeded in making three ears of corn grow where only one grew before, and that feeds the multitude.

We hear much in our country of "self-made men"; many of them are not admirable types, on the contrary quite the reverse. Few of them, as they assert loudly, stridently and aggressively, that they are self-made, are ever popular or pleasing. I remember when a baldheaded man was boasting that he had made himself, William R. Travers said to him: "Why

the devil, when you were doing it, didn't you put some hair on your head?" The railway furnishes an opportunity for the growth of self-made men whose existence is a valuable asset to the whole country, both in what they do and in the example which they set. Every man about this table is, in a way, a self-made man, but among the most conspicuous is our ex-President, Mr. William H. Newman, our President, Mr. Brown, who is about to leave us, and our incoming President, Mr. Smith.

When Mr. Brown was a boy upon the farm he dropped the plow, climbed the fence and enlisted in the railway service in the humble but useful capacity of feeding wood (which was then used instead of coal) to the tender of the locomotive. That excited the attention of a section foreman who wanted him to take the spade. He soon knew more than the section foreman, and then the head of the telegraph service required him; the train dispatcher saw his talent and made him an assistant; the superintendent needed him and then the General Manager made him Superintendent; he was so good a Superintendent that the Vice-President made him General Manager, and so good a General Manager that the President made him Vice-President, and so strong a Vice-President that the Board of Directors made him Senior Vice-President, and he displayed such rare executive talent that he was elected President.

The hard labors of an executive of a great railway very speedily use him up unless he finds recreation somewhere. Happily Mr. Brown possesses, in a large degree, the qualities which make a successful politician and public man. He knows the people and he likes to mingle with them and they like him. He has been a favored orator and an instructive one at various farmers' gatherings and meetings of Chambers of Commerce. He is destined to a career in public life. When he enters upon his activities as a farmer with all the other things which will come to him and which he will do, I am sure the people of his State will elect him Governor, and I believe that he will reach and adorn the United States Senate.

As a farmer he is already the owner of the prize stallion of the United States, and when devoting his whole attention to agriculture, he will be an efficient aid in answering the cry

for better horses. His enthusiasm cannot be restrained and he will have better cows, better pigs, better sheep, better poultry; his land will produce by the acre so much more than that of his neighbor, that the Brown Farm will become an Agricultural University.

Mr. Brown, we who love you, in seeking some permanent memorial of our affection which should be always with you and in your house, have selected this loving cup. On festive occasions its contents will be enjoyed by yourself, your family and your friends, and in the intervals your wife will fill it with flowers. Its mission is to keep in remembrance those who have been so long associated with you and whose admiration and affection have increased with the years.

An Appreciation of the Late Judge Henry E. Howland, Contributed to Bench and Bar, December, 1913.

Henry E. Howland was at Yale with me. He was in the class of 1854 and I in the class of 1856. He was a junior when I was a freshman and a senior when I was a sophomore, and, while there was very little acquaintance at that time between under and upper classmen, Howland was so universally popular among the students that we became quite intimate. He was interested then, as always afterward, in everything that concerned the welfare of the College. Athletics were in their infancy, but he was active in promoting them in the different classes and in the University at large, and used to address the classes below him to arouse their interest, having already developed the faculty of humor and story telling for which he was afterwards distinguished.

He was a studious and hard working lawyer all his life, but found time for excursions in many other fields of work and pleasure. He was an exception in this respect to most of his contemporaries. He was deeply interested in politics and became associated intimately with the remarkable body of young men whom Chester A. Arthur, for a long time the Republican leader and afterwards President of the United States, gathered about him, and all these young men reached positions of distinction.

While New York was most of the time under the control of Tammany, as it has been ever since, yet these young college men rescued the city several times in notable campaigns. In this way Howland became successively a Judge of the Marine Court and candidate for the Court of Common Pleas and Justice of the Supreme Court. He was fond of taking desperate chances where he believed that the people could be served by personal sacrifice on his part, and that led him to run for Alderman. During his two terms he was the life of the Board, and could unearth a job, expose a graft and bring even ad-

versaries to the adoption of measures of relief, both by the intimate knowledge which he displayed of the situation and of the underhand dealings of those men who preyed upon municipalities and his unfailing humor and good nature. Judge Howland could arouse the people to an interest disastrous to the schemes by a good story, when a denunciation would have fallen on closed ears and received little notice in the press.

The passion of his life was Yale, and he joined with me in organizing the Yale Alumni Association of New York, of which I was president for the first ten years and he of the succeeding ten, until it was merged into the Yale Club. The Association was most helpful in keeping up the Yale spirit, bringing together the recent graduates and giving them acquaintance with the older and successful men and also helping the University.

I was twelve years his colleague in the Yale Corporation. He never missed a meeting and was fertile in suggestions upon the many and sometimes difficult questions which are always present with the governing board of our universities.

His attendance upon the practice games of the baseball and football teams, and the training of the crews, gave to the boys the encouragement of feeling that the governing board of the University had a deep interest in the establishment of an athletic reputation for Yale, and sustaining it upon every field.

On the social side Judge Howland was one of the most delightful among the charming men of this metropolitan city. As an after-dinner speaker he had a fund of original anecdotes quite equal to those of the best story teller we ever had in New York, the late Judge John R. Brady. Few men knew so well what story fitted the case and how to tell it so that the snapper cracked and merged into the uproarious laughter of the crowd. He never attacked his adversaries directly, but had something of the Lincoln method of ridiculing them by an apt anecdote.

Those who were intimate with him wondered at the easy way in which he met and performed his many obligations. He possessed that rarest faculty for health and longevity, the ability to go from one department of work to another, carrying

into the new field none of the limitations of previous activity which so often is fatal among men who have made successes in any one line, and are incapable of effort in any other. They become narrow through the brain pressure on the same cells, while the other cells become atrophied and the result is that outside of their offices they are uninteresting companions and of little benefit to their communities. Howland, however, had discovered early in life the rest and recuperation that there are in change of occupation; he had found that from these excursions he returned to his main work renewed and refreshed.

As a lawyer he always satisfied his clients, and they knew by results that they were well served. On the legal side his judgment was excellent, but on all sides, in the troubles that come to a lawyer of general practice, he had rare wisdom and common sense.

Among other activities, he belonged to two dining clubs which met once a month. The members of these clubs were few and their meetings were both intimate and confidential. He was a valuable addition to these little gatherings of tired and busy men. He was fresher than any and brought to the table experiences from his busy life and wide contact with men of affairs—by way of incident and anecdote—those refreshing things which make an evening to be remembered.

During his long and most active career as a judge, a lawyer, a politician, a club member and club president, an educator and public speaker, he gained friends and never lost one. He filled a large place for a long time in the life of this great city.

SPEECH BY HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Presentation of the Tragedy *Andromaque*
by Racine at the Harris Theatre, New York
City, by the French Dramatic Society, February 4, 1914.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I feel embarrassed in appearing before you this afternoon for two reasons—one, it is always dangerous for a speaker to interrupt or postpone an anticipated pleasure, and the other, you are here for the purpose of listening to one of the immortal tragedies of Racine.

We have the highest authority for the statement that it is impossible to paint the lily, it is equally impossible to add to the fame of Racine, but when Mr. Bonheur, the President of the French Dramatic Society, came to me with the request that I should say a few words of appreciation of the efforts of that organization in the work they began and which we hope may successfully continue, I could not resist.

Certainly the Society is performing a service which is both patriotic and educational. Nothing could be of happier moment than to bring to the attention of the American people the results of French genius in literature and the drama.

The friendly relations between France and the United States began one hundred and thirty-seven years ago. It was a time when wars were universal, when nations were most hostile and were divided on race and religious grounds, when the ambition of dynasties and the hunger for territory were never so great. The American people were in revolution for independence and for founding a government upon Republican principles. The friendship of monarchical France and the assistance rendered us by the French at that time are pre-eminently the romance of history.

The Marquis de Lafayette, heir to one of the best names in the French nobility, came here as a volunteer and gave to Washington the service of his sword and his fortune. In the darkest hour of our struggle, Lafayette returned to France and came back with a French army under Rochambeau and

a French navy under de Grasse, which rehabilitated the Continental Army and the finances of our Revolution. To that assistance, as we look back upon it to-day, our ancestors owed their freedom. In all the revolutions in France during succeeding years, this friendship of one hundred and thirty-seven years has continued unimpaired; it has been strained at times, but never broken, and to-day it is more cordial than ever. The French, after passing through seven revolutions with different governments, forty years ago established the present republic modelled on the lines of the Constitution of the United States. Never in modern times have the French people been so loyal to their institutions, so patriotic in their determination to serve and protect them as now. Never before have French industry, literature and art been more progressive and prosperous.

Nothing is more interesting than the heredity of fundamental principles. The Pilgrim Fathers in the cabin of the *Mayflower* first enunciated in their charter the doctrine of the equality of all men before the law and the foundation of a government upon just and equal laws. One hundred years afterwards a French philosopher, Rousseau, startled France by advocating the same principles. There is no probability that he had ever heard of the Pilgrim Fathers, of the *Mayflower* or of the charter which was prepared in its cabin. The principle had worked its way out in his own mind. It became at once a toy and plaything among the dandies and beauties of the French Court. It became a political creed in France in 1783, the year the French Army, after the organization of American Independence, returned to France. The French soldiers brought back with them the practical and successful application of these principles in the formation of the American government and the happy liberties of the American people. The teachings of Rousseau instantly assumed practical form. The French Revolution followed and the flower and the fruit of it all is the French Republic of to-day.

The division of people into parties is a state of mind; why a man is a Republican, a Democrat, a Socialist, a Prohibitionist or a Suffragette is a state of mind, so also the relations between nationalities is a state of mind. Nothing promotes unity of minds in different nations like intelligent intercom-

munication and exchange of thought. I remember in my youth when the works of Lamartine were the rage of the day, and then followed Guizot; they, with the great novelists, Balzac, Dumas, Victor Hugo, drew closer and closer to France the youth of the United States.

I have been a student and admirer of the American stage for over half a century. Its indebtedness to French dramatists and to the production of French art on the stage cannot be estimated. Taking the last fifty years as a whole, the majority of the plays which have appeared upon our stage have come from the French; they were borrowed and then adapted. Language is often used to so soften a theft that it conceals a crime. The French play is stolen bodily, then it is adapted, and in the adaptation the name of the original genius disappears and in his place the adapter becomes a dramatic author. This has all been an invaluable education; it has produced American dramatists and enriched the stage with American actors of high merit. There is now, and has been for the past few years, a body of American dramatists who are producing original and excellent plays that present properly the aspirations and ideas of American society. Now that we are no longer dependent upon the adaptation to our life of foreign ideas and social conditions, but have a standard of our own, we can draw closer to and recognize more thoroughly and justly the French originals.

It was a happy thought which brought about the exchange of professors between France and the United States. The most brilliant men of the French Academy have come to our universities and colleges, and in the exchange American professors have delighted audiences at the Sorbonne and in the historic university at Montpellier. These exchanges have lead to an acquaintance followed by study of French literature here and American literature over there. The fruit and flower of this international exchange is the production upon the American stage of the classics of French drama acted by a company of French actors. It is a wonderful advance in international cordiality that we can have the French stage acclimated in our City of New York.

We have still much to learn, and this French Dramatic

Association has a virgin field for its educational operations. On my way here this afternoon, a successful man of affairs stopped me and said, "Where are you hurrying?" I said, "To the Harris Theatre to speak on Racine." "Oh, yes," he answered, "I know the place. A lively town up in Wisconsin, but I did not know they were selling lots in New York."

I congratulate the students of the colleges and the schools that have this opportunity, which was not enjoyed by preceding generations. The French of the colleges and the schools, without the opportunity for practical use, frequently strands the student when he or she arrives in Paris. It is good in its way, but the French do not understand it. But when it is spoken, as it will be in these dramatic presentations, it becomes both a delight and an instruction.

Racine, whose masterpiece you hear this afternoon, did more than any other to elevate the French stage and by his genius to add to the beauty of the French language and enrich its literature. If, in the other world, the spirits of the departed are permitted to know what is transpiring here, we can picture the emotions of the spirit of Racine when it views with pride three hundred years after his death his great tragedy enacted in a country which he never heard of and among a people who, at that time, had no existence, but who in numbers and in power are greater than was the whole of the world with which he was familiar.

In congratulating the Society upon the happy inauguration of its work, I am sure you will all join me in wishing for it permanent success and a growth which will lead to the formation of other similar societies in every great city in the United States.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Luncheon of the Pilgrim Society of the
United States, to the Right Honorable, the
Earl of Kintore, at the Waldorf-Astoria, February 9, 1914.

GENTLEMEN: This room has been dedicated to international good will between the United States and Great Britain. Ten years ago this month the Pilgrim Society had here its first meeting. During the decade its history has been rich in functions for the promotion of international good will among all English-speaking peoples, and in results which have been eminently satisfactory. We, the Pilgrims, enter upon our second decade satisfied with our past, and hopeful for the future. A year ago at this same hour we welcomed the first delegation under the Earl of Weardale, which came over from England in the interest of our hundred years of peace. It is our privilege and our pleasure to-day to welcome another English Ambassador, a Statesman who has performed eminent services for his country in almost every department of English public life. He has brought to his mission his great ability, his ripe experience and a large talent for tact and diplomacy. The cause has been benefited beyond words by the presence in our country of this accomplished representative of its purposes and its ideals. This gentleman is our guest to-day, the Right Honorable, the Earl of Kintore.

We have been so busy with adapting ourselves to our New Freedom that we have not given this subject the attention which it has received on the other side of the Atlantic; however, it is our habit as a people to wake up late to any duty and then perform it with a speed and efficiency which makes up for lost time. The celebration of the completion of the hundred years of peace between the United States and Great Britain has an incalculable international value.

When the representatives of United States and Great Britain met at Ghent to arrange the terms of peace one hundred years ago next December, all Europe was at war. Great Britain and

every nation on the continent had combined together for a supreme effort to destroy Napoleon. One hundred years have passed during which there have been innumerable wars in which every country in the world has been repeatedly engaged. We have had several of our own, but there has been no hostile shot fired between the United States and Great Britain. We have been frequently on the verge of hostilities but they have been avoided by diplomacy. The one supreme and glorious fruit of liberties under the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of Great Britain is the growth of public opinion. We have had difficulties over boundary lines involving large areas of territory which have always been settled only by war; difficulties over rights on the sea, which are fruitful subjects for war; difficulties at the time of our Civil strife, which were full of reasons for war, and difficulties arising out of our stepping in between two foreign countries and demanding arbitration, which with any other people and in any other age would have been resented by war. These causes for arbitration by the sword were more acute than the causes which led to the war between Prussia and Austria that gave Prussia the dominance in Germany; between France and Germany which lost the former two of her richest provinces and a legacy of generations of hate; of the contests between France and Austria, which eventuated in Italian unity, and the war between Greece and the Balkan states and Turkey which afterwards became a contest over the spoils between the allies and closed with the opera bouffe of war, the peaceful recapture of Adrianople which had been the object of the strife with the Turks.

There is peace to-day in Europe, but it is peace so brittle that Germany has taken out of the principal, not the income, of her people two hundred and fifty millions of dollars for her army. France is doing the same for her army, and Germany and England are feverishly building dreadnoughts. We of the United States are so at peace with all the world that we refuse to add to our little army and fight over one more dreadnought for our navy. We have an irritation upon our Mexican border, but we are not, if possible, going to permit it to involve us in war. Our government's attitude toward the

parties to that conflict is illustrated by the old story of the wife who, seeing a life and death struggle between her husband and a bear, said, "Let the best one win, though my sympathies are with the bear."

This celebration is both an event and a sentiment. If duty was a sentiment which had to be aroused by canvassers and appeals, it would have little permanent value, but a sentiment which under every stress and strain has kept the peace for one hundred years is not an accident, it is a monument. There was a slight scratch upon the amber, not at all serious, yet deplorable, happening last year in the exception of our coastwise shipping from tolls on the Panama Canal. It has always been a wonder how, under the circumstances, the privilege was so easily granted and it is especially difficult when we consider that coastwise shipping is the only unrestricted monopoly created by the tariff, and the policy of this Government is to destroy tariff monopoly.

President Wilson within the last few days has happily removed this difficulty, he has relieved his party from this inconsistent position of being the agents of tariff monopoly and at the same time has won the applause of the American people and of the world by the assertion that when there is some doubt on a question of national honor, all doubts must be in favor of honor and faith. There is no place in the world more subject to brain storms than capitals, and none more so than Washington. This privilege to the coastwise shipping was passed with a rush and a hurrah under a brain storm by which voters in the Senate and House believed they were giving Home Rule to Ireland.

We are welcoming to our shores peoples of all countries races and nationalities, save yellow ones, but our relations with the English-speaking peoples of the world, including with Great Britain her self-governing colonies, Canada, Australia and South Africa, can be differentiated in the remark of an old-time Southern Colonel who was discussing with a friend the never settled dispute about the status of different religious sects. "Yes, suh," said the Colonel, "a Catholic can get to Heaven, so can a Presbyterian, a Baptist, Methodist, Congregationalist, Unitarian, or Universalist, but if you wish to

go to Heaven as a gentleman with gentlemen, you must be an Episcopalian."

There is confusion in the public mind that this sentiment expressed in the celebration next year includes only the British Isles, but there is equal enthusiasm in the self-governing colonies of Australia, of South Africa and especially of our neighbor, Canada.

It was a happy thought on the part of our friends on the other side to purchase Sulgrave Manor, the home of the ancestors of Washington. The pilgrimage of each succeeding generation of Americans to Mount Vernon is a baptism of patriotism; the pilgrimage of succeeding peoples from all around the world who speak the English language to Sulgrave Manor will be a baptism of international and perpetual peace. The example of what has resulted from the absence of war between the United States and Great Britain during these hundred years is the greatest argument for world peace. Higher than monuments or memorials of any international value, or in any permanent form, is the living fruit of these amicable relations, the self-governing colony of Canada. If there had been war, Canada would have been the battle ground and subject to all the devastations of the conflict, but upon a boundary line of three thousand miles between Canada and the United States, there is not a sentry or a gun, or on a thousand miles of contiguous inland seas a battleship. Canada has in her institutions her liberties, her laws, her continental and transcontinental railroads, and in opening her vast territories for agriculture, advanced more rapidly in these one hundred years than any nation except the United States. As Canada grows in population, power, liberty and beneficence to the world's welfare, each succeeding generation will hail her as a resplendent monument to our century of peace.

SPEECH OF HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW
at the Luncheon given to General Thomas L.
James on His Eighty-third Birthday at the
Union League Club, New York City, March
29, 1914.

MY FRIENDS: It is a privilege to be here to-day to join in this greeting to our friend, General Thomas L. James. We all have birthdays; mighty few have eighty-three. I can speak unselfishly of people who have reached eighty and passed beyond, because it will be four weeks before I arrive at that age. To have lived so long, retaining the confidence, respect and love of one's associates is a distinction; it indicates rare qualities of mind, of heart, rare wisdom, consideration and charity for others.

I trust we all went to church this morning. I did and heard a most instructive and inspiring sermon from my Rector. The preacher always illustrates the truth he is enforcing by a human example. Of course, it is always the Redeemer, but in addition it is an Apostle or a Saint or some eminent citizen.

We celebrate the birthdays of Washington and Lincoln because of the examples which they set and the guide that their lives are for posterity.

I know of no better sermon in this work-a-day world, and among those who know him and those who will know him when they come to read his story, than our friend and guest whose long life has been an illustration of the fact that a man can be true to his principles, his party, his church and his friends and still be more entrenched in the respect of his fellow citizens.

General James was one of the active young men in the Republican Party with whom I came in contact when I stumped the country for Fremont in 1856, fifty-eight years ago, and he was then giving promise of the distinction which he afterwards attained. He was a country editor working through the editorial columns with rare wisdom and efficiency

for the principles which he believed, but he also understood his neighborhood. He was the inventor of the social column in the village newspaper and every young man and woman who became engaged could be sure of a complimentary notice, the bride and bridesmaids at the marriage of a description of their dresses, all made at home; when they took their honeymoon, which in those days was never more than a week to some place within twenty-five or thirty miles, it received as much picturesque description as the honeymoon does now which charters a yacht and goes around the world. It was in this field that Mr. James discovered the faculty of imagination, without which he never could have made his success.

When he became Postmaster of New York there was no civil service; the doctrine, "To the victor belong the spoils," was universally accepted; the result was that the General was expected to turn everybody out and to appoint in their places the friends of the people who had secured him his position. This gave him enormous patronage. It was with the pressure then put upon him that he demonstrated his strength of character, and with the opportunities which obliging eminent men gave him, his ability to resist temptation. I think he was the first of the office holders of the country who installed a system of civil service. Of course, it was inadequate and primitive, for he had no support from his superiors or from the people, but it was the beginning of a great reform in the public service of our Government.

During all my activities in politics, running through these fifty-eight years, I have been a persistent seeker for other people to secure them offices. I have placed in the city, State and Government employment many thousands of men and some women. My intimacy with General James was well known and, therefore, I was overrun with people who wanted me to ask him to place them in the post office. I selected a very worthy man and, knowing how unreliable are letters, I went down with the applicant. The General received me with his accustomed cordiality and expressed his pleasure in having an opportunity to do me a favor. He said, "I will not put your friend on the general list because it may be a long time before he would be reached, but, turning to his private sec-

retary, he directed, "Jones, put Mr. Depew's man on my private list." The applicant and I went away joyous and I undertook the support of himself and his family, we both thinking it was only for a few days. After a month of waiting, weary on the part of the office seeker and expensive to me, we went down again. The General called his secretary and said to him, "On what list did you put Mr. Depew's man?" He said, "On your private list." The General was indignant, but his secretary winked at me, which made me think he was accustomed to that kind of abuse, and the General said to the secretary, "You ought to know better; the list I wanted him put on, and I regret if I made a mistake, was not my private list, but my special list." "Now," he said, rising, which indicated the interview was over, "your man is safe." At the end of another month the weary office seeker and I called again. The General said, "Well, you see my private list got so crowded and my special list so full, that I had to make another list for intimate friends like you and call it my private-special list, consolidating the two names; now you are safe with your friend on the private special."

A few nights afterwards, at a great public banquet at Delmonico's, the General had a seat of honor on the dais and I was a speaker. I made up my mind I could add to the gaiety of nations by a full and picturesque account of the General's lists, special and private and private-special. I had not got far when he came over to me and said, "Chauncey, for Heaven's sake, stop this racket; you will give me away and my scheme will be ruined for getting rid of office seekers. If you will stop I will appoint your man to-morrow morning." I turned my description of the lists into a glowing eulogium on the Postmaster of New York, his efficiency and how he was adding to the comfort of his fellow citizens and their business facilities, and the next morning my office seeker received his appointment and is still in the post office.

There is another incident which is of historical importance. A few of us active workers in the Republican Party in New York State were responsible for the nomination of General Garfield for President of the United States. Senator Conkling was at that time the dictator of the party in New

York and the sole dispenser of public patronage. This patronage was so large that it made him absolute in his authority. He was bitterly displeased by the nomination of Garfield and refused to support him for a long time. His strength was so great that unless he did support him, it was feared New York State would be lost. General Grant, who was the defeated candidate, with great magnanimity came out and traveled the country for Garfield and succeeded in making Senator Conkling accompany him. Garfield was elected. Senator Conkling demanded of the President the continuance of his control over the patronage, which meant the punishment of the men who made Garfield President. His method was to fight the confirmation by the Senate of anybody from New York in the Garfield Cabinet, unless selected by himself; then he would have in the Cabinet of the President a personal and devoted follower who would look after and protect this source of the Senator's power.

The late Whitelaw Reid and myself were in Washington to secure, as far as possible, a Cabinet which would be loyal to General Garfield and nobody else. After Senator Conkling had rejected several names suggested by the President, it suddenly occurred to me that there was one man whom Senator Conkling could not afford to, and would not fight, and that was the Postmaster of New York, General Thomas L. James. James was a citizen of Utica, Mr. Conkling's own city. He had been a devoted friend of Mr. Conkling during the whole of Conkling's career and a most efficient one, but I knew that if Mr. James entered the Cabinet of the President, it would be as a friend as well as an adviser of General Garfield, and that he could not by any old association be seduced from that allegiance. That was his character, but I took into account also his blood. He is a Welshman, and the peculiarity of a Welshman in a crisis is that he has the courage, patience and persistence of General Grant and the obstinacy of an army mule.

General James was appointed, and while Senator Conkling did not approve, he found it impossible to fight his confirmation and believed that soon he could command his loyalty against the President. He was mistaken. No member of Gar-

field's Cabinet was truer to him or of greater value to him than his Postmaster-General. This appointment was the beginning of the fight upon Garfield's Administration, which led to Senator Conkling's resignation from the Senate and retirement from public life, and in the bitter partisanship of the time caused a lunatic to assassinate the President. Thus was the history of the United States changed.

The value of any human being is dependent upon the atmosphere in which he or she moves and in which they have their being. This is not the air common to us all, but it is the atmosphere which we all create ourselves. It may be repellent so that none can breathe it comfortably; it may be cold so that all are chilled who come within it, but there are many right-minded, right-hearted people whose sensibilities are not narrowed by the accidents of life, nor their charity dissipated by enmities or betrayals, but who, by their words and actions, spread good will and good fellowship all around them. The atmosphere of such people communicates to other atmospheres, so that whole communities share in the blessings which flow from such characters. During his long, fruitful and eminently useful life an innumerable host have enjoyed and been benefited by the atmosphere created by General Thomas L. James.

Some Views on the Threshold of Fourscore of Chauncey M. Depew, LL.D.

At the Twenty-second Annual Dinner given by the Montauk Club of Brooklyn, in Celebration of Senator Depew's Seventy-ninth Birthday, April 26, 1913.

At the Celebration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Entrance upon the Ministry of the Rev. Henry A. Brann, D.D., Lexington Avenue Opera House, May 29, 1912.

At the Fourth of July Celebration of the American Society of London, England, July 4, 1912.

At the Banquet Celebrating the One Hundred and Forty-fourth Anniversary of the New York Chamber of Commerce, Waldorf-Astoria, November 21, 1912.

At the Meeting in Memory of Vice-President James S. Sherman, held by the Republican Club of the City of New York, November 24, 1912.

At the Luncheon of the New York State Society of the Cincinnati at Metropolitan Club, New York City, November 25, 1912, in Celebration of the Evacuation of New York by the British Army, November 25, 1783.

On the Occasion of the Presentation of the Grand Jewel of the 33° to Senator Depew at the Masonic Hall, New York City, December 20, 1912.

At the Dinner given by the Lotos Club of New York to Governor William Sulzer, February 8, 1913.

At the Pilgrims Society Luncheon to the Delegates from England, Canada and Australia to Arrange for Celebrating One Hundred Years of Peace among English Speaking Peoples, Waldorf-Astoria, May 5, 1913.

Tribute to the German Emperor at the Concert given on the steamer *Kronprinzessin Cecilie*, June 14, 1913.

At the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Formation of the Village of Ossining, State of New York, October 13, 1913.

At the Dinner given by the Lotos Club of New York to His Serene Highness Prince Albert of Monaco, October 25, 1913.

At the Annual Dinner of the St. Nicholas Society of New York at Delmonico's, December 6, 1913.

At the Dinner given by the Lotos Club of New York to Howard Elliott, Chairman of the New York and New Haven Railroad Company, December 13, 1913.

At the Dinner given to William C. Brown by his Official Associates at the University Club, New York, December 29, 1913.

An Appreciation of the late Judge Henry E. Howland, Contributed to Bench and Bar, December, 1913.

At the Presentation of the Tragedy Andromaque by Racine at the Harris Theatre, New York City, by the French Dramatic Society, February 4, 1914.

At the Luncheon of the Pilgrim Society of the United States to the Right Honorable, the Earl of Kintore, at the Waldorf-Astoria, February 9, 1914.

At the Luncheon given to General Thomas L. James on his 83d Birthday at the Union League Club, New York City, March 29, 1914.

